BULLETIN OF
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NOTES AND NEWS

THE ISAAC WOLFSON BENEFACTION

THE John Rylands Library, as is well known, was founded by Mrs. Enriqueta Rylands in memory of her husband John Rylands. He it was, who, when a youth, started a cotton weaving business and by taking his father and two brothers into partnership established the firm of Rylands & Sons with seat of operations in Wigan. In 1823 a branch was opened in Manchester and this subsequently became the headquarters of the firm. Largely through the enterprise of John Rylands the firm, branching out in many directions, became highly prosperous, and when he died in 1888 he left to his widow a vast fortune. Part of this she devoted to building, equipping and stocking the Library. Her finest acquisitions were the famous Spencer Collection of Early Printed Books and the equally famous Crawford Collection of Manuscripts.

During Mrs. Rylands' lifetime there was a close connection between the Library and the firm of Rylands & Sons. Unfortunately, shortly after her death in 1908, the link which bound them together was severed. So the situation remained until recently when Mr. Isaac Wolfson acquired the firm. As the new chairman of Rylands & Sons he has donated to the Library the sum of £21,000 to erect and equip an annexe designed to include a new photographic studio and provide suitable accommodation for those special collections which it is desired to bring together in one place.

This generous gift happily restores the former association between Library and Firm. Plans are now ready and it is hoped to begin work on the new project at an early date. The building will be known as " The Isaac Wolfson Annexe " and will be of

great benefit to the Library in relieving pressure on space and in adding to the efficiency of the services it renders to scholars. Mr. Wolfson has, indeed, earned the gratitude of all interested in the Library and its work, and they are many and widespread.

MUNIMENTS OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD

The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres has recently added to his Scottish family muniments, which are deposited in this Library, 500 further letters and papers, dating mainly from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The greater part of this accession consists of a varied and valuable collection of correspondence, bound in two volumes, addressed to Sir David Lindsay (d. 1641), who was created Lord Lindsay of Balcarres in 1633. It deals not only with his personal and legal affairs, but also with political matters, and contains several drafts and copies in his own hand. Among earlier and later letters, which include a wide range of correspondents of note, are a small group written to Lord Menmuir, some in his capacity as Secretary of State to James VI of Scotland, and a more extensive collection relating to Colin, 3rd Earl of Balcarres (d. 1722). Forming part of the latter's papers are, together with other items of interest, twenty-one documents from the Privy Council of Scotland, dated between 1679 and 1704; eight letters from James, 4th Earl of Perth, written during his exile; and a similar number from the Bishop of Glasgow, written in 1704 and 1707 and dealing with political affairs at this important period in Scottish history. Both in these groupings and among the remaining letters and papers a number of other well-known figures occur. In the seventeenth century correspondence, for example, we meet with Lauderdale (the 1st Earl), Rothes (6th Earl), Wemyss (1st Earl), Hamilton (3rd Marquess), and, not least interesting, the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden and his brother-in-law and lifelong friend John Scott of Scotstarvet, one of the most munificent supporters of literature and learning in his time. From other individual items of note we may cite a contemporary copy of a letter of 1589 to Peter Young, tutor and counsellor to James VI (afterwards James I of England), written from Denmark respecting his master's marriage to Princess Anne of

Denmark and marked to be delivered to Peter "with haste"; a copy, also in a contemporary hand, of a lengthy letter from Madrid, dated 28 June 1623, enlarging on the numerous virtues of the Spanish Infanta, presumably in connection with her projected marriage to the Prince of Wales (later Charles I); a letter signed by Rothes, Wemyss and others, sent to "My Lord Balcarras" in 1638, just before the First Bishops' War, concerning "the dangerous estate querin our Religion, our Kirk, our Liberties, Lives and fortunes presentlie stand" and beseeching him "immediatlie to haste hither" (Edinburgh); and a number of informative reports from the Continent in the first half of the same century dealing with military and political events. Certain of the letters from this collection were drawn on by Lord Lindsay for his *Lives of the Lindsays*, but much of great value remains and the whole forms a source for Scottish and English history which will well repay detailed examination.

THE ARDERNE MUNIMENTS

Recent accessions to the Library's Charter Rooms include a new and extensive collection of family muniments consisting of over 800 documents relating to the Arderne and Alvanley estates in Cheshire, which were deposited with us in April on behalf of Lady Helen O'Brien. Lady Helen, sister of the 12th Earl of Haddington, is the grand-daughter of the 11th Earl, whose mother-in-law was the daughter of Richard Arderne, 1st Baron Alvanley through whom these estates descended as the result of the marriage in the early seventeenth century of Ralph Arderne and Eleanor Done. The Ardernes are of great antiquity in Cheshire and with this marriage they became allied to another ancient Cheshire family, the Dones of Utkinton. The male line of the Dones terminated with the death of John Done in 1630 and their property was inherited by his sisters Jane (d. 1662), Mary (d. 1690) and the Eleanor who married Ralph Arderne. Jane settled her share on her sister Mary (who married John Crewe), and the lawful heirs of her body, with remainder to the surviving sons of her other sister, Eleanor. The muniments, as received, relate almost entirely to Cheshire—the very few exceptions concern Lancashire, Surrey and Hertfordshire—the

places most fully represented being Alvanley itself, Utkinton, Tarporley, Rushton, Eaton, Oulton, Clotton, Kingsley, Norley, Duddon and the Stockport area. A wide range of documents is represented—conveyances, rentals, maps, enclosure awards, and family and estate papers—and the collection is unusually rich in marriage settlements and wills, mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These include the settlement made after the above-mentioned marriage of Ralph Arderne and Eleanor Done (9 August 1625), through which part of the inheritance of the Dones of Utkinton came into the Arderne family, and the settlement (1831) on the marriage of John Warrender with the Hon. Frances Henrietta Arden, daughter of the 1st Baron Alvanley. Incidentally, Ralph and Eleanor Arderne were the parents of James Arderne (d. 1691), Dean of Chester and Chaplain to Charles II. Among the wills is that of the Jane Done (d. 1662) to whom reference has already been made, who was the daughter of Sir John Done of Utkinton. A number of items also concern the Crewe family, as might be expected from the division of the Done estate, and here we may perhaps note an interesting group of seventeenth and eighteenth century deeds concerning apprentices charities, by which money arising from certain lands was to be used " for the putting forth as apprentices yearly one of the eldest sons or, for want of such sons, one of the eldest daughters, of the cottagers or poorer sort of tenants " of Sir John Crewe and his heirs in the townships of Clotton, Eaton, Rushton and Alpraham ; the trades to which the apprentices were to be assigned had to be approved by Sir John and his heirs. The whole collection is one of great interest and forms a most welcome addition to the already extensive Cheshire muniments now deposited in the Library's Charter Rooms. A Hand-List has been compiled and is available for consultation in the Library.

ACQUISITION OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

With the aid of a contribution from the Friends of the National Libraries, we have recently been enabled to purchase two beautifully adorned Arabic manuscripts. Both are by the same hand, dating from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, and provide fine examples of calligraphy. The common

theme is the exaltation of the Prophet and the contents consist mainly of prayers, although one also includes a number of surahs of the Qur'an. This manuscript, which extends to 159 folios, has two mihrabs exquisitely designed in gold and colours and ninety-six headings of similar workmanship, together with two full-page bird's-eye views of mosques of Mecca and Medina and sixteen full-page depictions of the Prophet's personal effects—umbrella, sherbet decanter, brazier, book, lamp, hand, foot, sword, shield, coat, comb, rosary, standard, etc.—all richly painted and gilded. The other volume, of 92 folios, has much the same features, but is not so profusely illustrated. It has, however, bird's-eye views of the mosques of Mecca and Medina and contains three elegantly designed mihrabs and ten equally elegant chapter headings. In both volumes, which are bound in dark red native Morocco, tooled and gilded, each page of the text is enclosed within a broad border of burnished gold, with gold rosettes separating the sentences. We are indebted to the Friends of the National Libraries for the generous donation which has made this acquisition possible.

A COLLECTION OF MAZARINADES

In the Department of Printed Books the most notable of recent acquisitions by purchase has been an addition of 328 pamphlets to the Library's considerable collection of Mazarinades. These vary greatly in historical interest and in literary value, but to many of them Naudé, librarian to Cardinal Mazarin, accords high praise. He describes *Les souhaits de la France* as " une des meilleures pièces ", and *Le sommaire de la doctrine curieuse du Cardinal Mazarin* as " modèle des bonnes pièces ". Many of the new additions deal with the three-months war at the beginning of 1649, and with the treaty of Ruel signed on 1 April at its conclusion. There are several interesting effusions of the pamphleteer, De Carigny, who, in *L'idole renversée* says that he had " brulé mes encens sur l'autel du monstre [Mazarin] ", but that now he retracts his eulogies since no savant could boast of favours received from the monster, in other words his incense had gone without reward. There is a list of *Contents et mécontents sur le sujet du temps* in which it is curious to find printers

ranged among the *Contents*, booksellers among the *Mécontents*; the latter presumably did not derive sufficient profit from the pamphlet war which was raging. The collection deals with the most diverse aspects of French life; the *Avis aux bourgeois de Paris pour la conservation de leurs personnes et de leurs familles*, for example, which gives counsel on avoiding and curing the plague, would seem to suggest that one was feared in 1649. The collection now consists of about one-third of all the Mazarinades issued and forms invaluable source material for the student of the history of the Fronde.

THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS

The "Hand-List of the Bagshawe Muniments" has been reprinted from the three recent numbers of the BULLETIN in which it has appeared and issued as a separate publication; a full index of Persons and Places, extending to thirty-two pages, has been added. This collection, deposited in the Library by Major F. E. G. Bagshawe of Ford Hall, co. Derby, has already yielded some interesting discoveries. While it was being calendared new letters and papers relating to Arthur Young, perhaps the greatest English writer on agriculture, came to light and attention was drawn to them in the "Notes and News" section of one of our earlier numbers (Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 281-2). This material, which includes eleven leaves from the original manuscript of Young's "Autobiography", was dealt with in the BULLETIN for March 1955 (Vol. 37, No. 2) by Professor John G. Gazley of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, in an article entitled "Arthur Young, Agriculturalist and Traveller, 1741-1820. Some Biographical Sources." Professor Gazley there pointed out that among these Bagshawe letters are fifteen from Young's son, the Rev. Arthur Young, about whom almost nothing has hitherto been known. He is to deal with these in a further study to be published in the next BULLETIN. Another group of interesting letters is from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Sir James Caldwell, and these are to be discussed by Professor Robert Halsband of Hunter College, New York, in the same number. Sir James Caldwell (d. 1784) of Castle Caldwell, co. Fermanagh,

was in contact with many of the leading political and literary figures of his age, as was pointed out in another article of September 1952 (Vol. 35, No. 1) and among his extensive family archives which have survived in the Bagshawe Muniments are, apart from his business and estate papers, his letter books (1745-83), over 1,500 of his letters, 25 of his pamphlets and 400 letters from various correspondents to his wife, who was the daughter of the Archbishop of Tuam and aunt of William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne, later 1st Marquess of Lansdowne. Their presence here is due to the marriage in 1751 of Sir James's sister with Col. Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1762). Col. Samuel's letters and papers have an interest of their own. A Justice of the Peace for co. Derby, M.P. for Tallagh, co. Waterford, and Colonel of the 93rd Regiment of Foot, he had a distinguished career as a soldier and was for some time Second in Command in the East Indies. His East India papers, numbering nearly 600 items, form part of the collection, together with correspondence relating to the 93rd Regiment, muster rolls, returns, regimental accounts and receipts, and others of his official records. The military historian should find much of value in them. With them, as another unused source of military history, may be mentioned the letters and papers of Lord John Murray (d. 1787) and Lt.-Gen. William Murray (d. 1878); the former, son of the 1st Duke of Atholl, was for over forty years Colonel of the 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch). Among other items of interest are volumes of building accounts of the architect Sir Jeffry Wyatville, noted for his restoration at Windsor Castle; they concern the building of Banner Cross, the Murray's Yorkshire seat, which Wyatville himself is said to have considered to be the finest example of his work. There is also an extensive collection of deeds and muniments of title covering some twelve counties, the bulk relating to Derbyshire and Yorkshire. They include family, estate and business records, among them being several dealing with eighteenth century mining, particularly lead mining in Derbyshire. Attached to one of the deeds, as Mr. R. C. Somerville, Archivist of the Duchy of Lancaster Office, has pointed out, is a seal of George I which is the only specimen of its kind to have survived.

A LIBRARY BROCHURE

As a result of frequent requests from readers and visitors, a brochure dealing with the Library and its contents was published last year under the title "The John Rylands Library, Manchester. A Brief Descriptive Account." The first printing is already nearly exhausted and a reprinting is now available. This brochure, with an introduction by Sir John S. B. Stopford, the Chairman of the Governors, gives an account of the founding of the Library and of the wide range of its collections, printed and manuscript, beginning with the famous Althorp Library of Earl Spencer, consisting of more than 40,000 choice volumes, rich in incunabula, and the Crawford Manuscripts, which formed part of the renowned Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earls of Crawford. Fourteen illustrations are included, of which four are views of the Library itself and ten show rare items from the Departments of Manuscripts and Printed Books, among them the St. John fragment (the earliest known piece of New Testament writing in any language), a unique trilingual Qur'an, the Charles VII Book of Hours (fifteenth century), the St. Christopher Block-Print of 1423 (the earliest known piece of European printing with an undisputed date), *Death-Bed Prayers* of Caxton (the only copy in existence) and the acknowledged masterpiece (the Glasgow "Aeschylus" of 1795) of the greatest English binder, Roger Payne. The brochure concludes with a brief survey of the various catalogues and other publications of the Library, including the BULLETIN.

RECENT LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS

The following is a list of recent Library publications. The first two have been described more fully in preceding paragraphs, the remainder consists of reprints of articles which appeared in the latest (March 1955) issue of the BULLETIN:

"The John Rylands Library, Manchester. A Brief Descriptive Account." 8vo, pp. 32, with fourteen plates. Price one shilling net.

"Hand-List of the Bagshawe Muniments Deposited in the John Rylands Library." By F. Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. 8vo, pp. 143. Price six shillings net.

" Swiftiana in Rylands English MS. 659 and Related Documents." By Irvin Ehrenpreis, Assistant Professor of English at Indiana University, and James L. Clifford, Professor of English at Columbia University. 8vo, pp. 27. Price three shillings net.

" Arthur Young, Agriculturalist and Traveller, 1741-1820. Some Biographical Sources." By John G. Gazley, Professor of History at Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. 8vo, pp. 38. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" A List of Some Uncatalogued Syriac Biblical Manuscripts." By M. H. Gottstein, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 8vo, pp. 19. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

" The Reynolds Copy of Johnson's *Dictionary*." By Gwin J. Kolb, Assistant Professor of English in the University of Chicago, and James H. Sledd, Associate Professor of English in the University of Chicago. 8vo, pp. 32. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" Some Manuscripts of the Life of St. Bernard." By Fr. John Morson, O.C.R., Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, Leicestershire. 8vo, pp. 29, with two plates. Price three shillings net.

" Rylands English MS. 1111 : An Early Diary of Richard Cross (d. 1760), Prompter to the Theatres." By Harry William Pedicord. 8vo, pp. 27. Price three shillings net.

" Nehemiah's Mission and its Background." By Harold H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 36. Price three shillings and sixpence net.

" John Ruskin : the Final Years. A Survey of the Ruskin Correspondence in the John Rylands Library." By Robin Skelton, Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 27. Price three shillings net.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH SERIES OF RYLANDS PUBLIC LECTURES

The following is a list of the public lectures (the fifty-fourth series) which have been arranged for delivery in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the current session 1955-6, at 3 p.m. in the afternoon :

12 October 1955. " Shakespeare's Learning." By H. B. Charlton, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

9 November 1955. "Francis Lieber, Transmitter of European Ideas to America." By Frank Freidel, Associate Professor of History, Stanford University, California.

14 December 1955. "The Lord's Prayer: II." By T. W. Manson, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

18 January 1956. "The Mechanics of Law Making." By B. A. Wortley, Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law in the University of Manchester.

8 February 1956. "The Marriage of Hosea." By Harold H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

14 March 1956. "Divine Colloquy in Islam." By A. J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.

9 May 1956. "Peter the Venerable (d. 1156): Abbot of Cluny and Friend of St. Bernard." By the Rev. Professor M. D. Knowles, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

RYLANDS ARABIC MS. 375

The following communication relating to one of our Arabic manuscripts has been received from Dr. D. M. Dunlop, Lecturer in Islamic History in the University of Cambridge: "Rylands Arabic MS. 375 is described in the printed Catalogue (A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, 1934, Col. 610), as *al-Maqālāt ar-Rafī'ah fī uṣūl 'ilm aṭ-ṭabī'ah*, a work of al-Fārābī otherwise attested, and so listed in Brockelmann, following this attribution (*G.A.L.*, Sup. I, 376, C. 12). This title, however, nowhere appears in the manuscript. The only title in the manuscript itself is *Tabī'īyāt Fārābī*, 'Fārābī's Physics' (fol. 1a), which is not only vague and ambiguous but, as can now be shown, completely misleading. The work is not *al-Maqālāt ar-Rafī'ah* and has nothing to do with al-Fārābī. Since the matter is of some importance, the circumstances in which identification has become possible are perhaps worth recording.

"A microfilm of the manuscript in question was recently

obtained by Dr. G. Hanania, of Christ's College, Cambridge, with a view to a possible edition of what we thought was a little-known work of al-Fārābī. While reading around the subject Dr. Hanania saw and drew to my attention a passage in Dr. 'Umar Farrūkh's *Al-Fārābīyān* (lit. the 'Two Farabis', i.e. al-Fārābī and Avicenna; Ed. 2, Beirut, 1369/1950, 44), in which certain words from the beginning of the Rylands MS. were quoted as from Avicenna. The quotation in 'Umar Farrūkh's book, somewhat indistinctly cited by him, is evidently from Shahristānī's *Kitāb al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal* (ed. Aḥmad Fahmi Muhammad, Cairo, 1368/1948, III 174). But the original source, not stated by Shahristānī, nor by any of his editors whom I have consulted, is the well-known *Najāt* of Avicenna. Reference to the latter work, which I have used in the edition of Cairo, A.H. 1331, published at the expense of Muhīy ad-Dīn Ṣabrī al-Kurdī, showed that the same words occur also at the beginning of Part 2 of the *Najāt* (op. cit. p. 158), and, in fact, as can readily be proved by inspection, the Rylands manuscript does not contain any work of al-Fārābī, but Part 2 of the *Najāt* of Avicenna, not quite complete.

"The headings of the first two *maqālāt* are omitted in the Rylands manuscript. The first *maqālah* should, of course, be indicated at the beginning of the manuscript; mention of the second has been omitted on fol. 9a (p. 169 of the edition). The heading of the third *maqālah*, duly noted by Mingana on fol. 39a, comes on page 217 of the edition; the heading of the fourth (fol. 48b of the manuscript) on page 233 of the edition; and the heading of the fifth (fol. 58a) on page 248 of the edition. The heading of a sixth *maqālah* comes on page 256 of the edition. It has evidently been omitted in the manuscript. Dr. Hanania has given me the following notes on comparing the *Kitāb an-Najāt*, as edited, with the Rylands manuscript: 'Identical material, though words here and there are different. The manuscript lacks headings of sections. Out of 56 given in *Kitāb an-Najāt* only 3 are seen in the manuscript., i.e. the headings of the third, fourth and fifth *maqālāt*. Two mathematical diagrams are missing in the manuscript. The latter part of the manuscript is very poor, difficult to read, and full of errors which appear

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to be the fault of the copyist (who, obviously, did not understand the text). The manuscript stops abruptly on page 287 of the book, that is, in the 46th section. This leaves 10 sections missing.'

"For completeness' sake it may be added that the work *al-Maqālāt ar-Rafi'ah* exists in Leiden MS. Or. 2930 = Landberg-Brill 570 mentioned by Brockelmann (loc. cit.). This identification I owe to Mr. R. Ritsema of the well-known house of E. J. Brill, Leiden, by whose good offices I was able to obtain a microfilm. Interesting details of the transaction, not deducible from Brockelmann, by which the collection of which this manuscript originally formed part (catalogued summarily by Landberg for the house of Brill) passed to Leiden University Library, may be found in the later (incomplete) catalogue of the Leiden collection (*Catalogus Codicum Arab. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, ed. 2 (1888), I xxxi (De Goeje)). The manuscript of *al-Maqālāt ar-Rafī'ah* now in Leiden University Library contains a mere twenty-four *pages* and is apparently unique. It has already been used by Professor Necati Lugal and Dr. Adın Sayılı for their edition of the work, published with a Turkish translation in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, xv (1951), 81-122. The authentic *Maqālāt Rafi'ah* is divided into three *maqālāt*, dealing respectively with *'aql* (intelligence), *ruḥ* (spirit) and *nafs* (soul). The editors in their introduction express regret that they were unable to procure the 'other copy', i.e. Rylands 375, but, as we have seen, it would not have availed them. For the identity of the Rylands manuscript with Part 2 of the *Najāt* of Avicenna is beyond doubt. The incorrect attribution to al-Fārābī has led others into error besides Brockelmann, e.g. Ahmed Ateş, in his bibliography of al-Fārābī ("Fārābīnin Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası") in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, xv. 185, No. 75."

UNIVERSAL COPYRIGHT CONVENTION

The Universal Copyright Convention comes into force in September 1955. The Convention, which was sponsored by Unesco, protects the rights of authors and other copyright proprietors in literary, scientific and artistic works, including writings, musical, dramatic and cinematograph works, paintings, engravings and sculpture.

It will provide reasonable measures for permitting the translation of works required in the national interest of particular states. Up to now the world has been divided into various groups of multilateral conventions, none of which has been worldwide in scope. This has led to complications, to gaps in the system of copyright protection, and often to injustice towards the men and women whose works contribute to international understanding through the advancement of culture.

Forty states, including Great Britain, have signed the Convention. It has been ratified or adhered to by twelve of them. Legislation to reform the law of copyright in this country is under consideration. Reference to the subject was made in H.M. the Queen's Speech at the opening of the last session of Parliament. The records of the Intergovernmental Copyright Conference which prepared the Convention were published in July for Unesco by H.M.S.O.

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THE TURKISH COLONIZATION OF ANATOLIA

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Introductory

IN the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the population of Anatolia was predominantly Christian, Greek-speaking and sedentary. The tribes which moved into the country after the battle of Manzikert were, by contrast, Moslems of Turkish speech, who practised an economy of pastoral nomadism. What follows is a study of the nature of the Turkish colonization, with the aim of understanding how the two populations, native and immigrant, were merged. For despite the rapid establishment of Islam and the Turkish language, there is no evidence, either documentary or anthropological, of the extermination of the vanquished peoples.

Within a decade of the defeat of the main Byzantine army and the capture of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuk tribes had overrun the major part of the plateau in the face of very little resistance, and were living alongside the indigenous population. The Byzantine historians say very little [1] of how the victory was effected, but probably there was mass apostasy on the part of the Christians, and considerable intermarriage : at least, the Turkish hero Seidi Ghazi, according to legend, married a local Christian princess, possibly in order to legitimize his claim to his new territories.[2]

[1] See below, pp. 19 and 21–2.

[2] W. M. Ramsay, " The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor, some of its causes and effects ", *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, vii (1915-16), 3. The Behtashi hero, Haidar-es-Sultan, is also said to have married a Christian (J. W. Crowfoot, " Survivals among the Kappadokian Kizilbash (Bektash) ", *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxx (1900), 309). Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who travelled in 1432-3, heard that both Ramedan, lord of Turcomania (Cilicia Campestris), and the son of the karman (prince) of Konya had Christian mothers (*Travels*, in W. Wright (ed.), *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848), pp. 315, 324.)

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The course of the Conquest

Nicetas gives a clue as to why the Anatolian population succumbed so easily; a community of Christians, he says, preferred the rule of the Turks of Konya to that of the Byzantine Emperor, and adopted Turkish customs.[1] There were, in fact, profound divisions among the peoples of Anatolia at this time. In country districts the pagan cults of early Anatolia had survived, in a corrupt form, the successive attacks of Roman Emperor-worship and of orthodox Christianity, and were constantly likely to emerge in the form of heresies, such as the Montanist, Collyridian, and Paulician. The official disapproval and even active persecution which these provoked [2] must have antagonized whole districts and communities against the ruling power and predisposed them in favour of secession to a tolerant conqueror.

The ethnic and linguistic diversity of Anatolia also had the effect of weakening resistance to the invader. Although Greek was already the language of the great municipalities at the beginning of the Christian era, it was slow to penetrate the rural districts, some of which retained traces of their Asianic dialects until early Byzantine times. In a moment of excitement the inhabitants of even such an accessible city as the Roman colony of Lystra were, in the first century A.D., liable to lapse from Greek into their native Lycaonian speech;[3] and until the fourth century, at least, inscriptions in the Phrygian language continued to be set up in remote parts of the western plateau. Greek speech and Hellenic civilization made particularly slow progress among the various unabsorbed ethnic stocks, on whose complex distribution in Asia Minor Strabo [4] already commented in the first century A.D., in quoting a proverb about the difficulty of fixing

[1] Nicetas Choniata, *Historia de Iohanne Comneno*, § 10 (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, vol. 41 (Bonn, 1835), p. 50). These Christians lived on fortified islands in Lake Pusgusa (Beyşehir), and in 1142 fought against John Comnenus. Nicetas concludes, *οὕτω χρόνῳ κρατυνθὲν ἔθος γένους καὶ θρησκείας ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότερον.*

[2] Anna Comnena gives examples, *Alexias*, xiv, § 8-9 (*Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.*, vol. 3 (Bonn, 1878), pp. 295-306). See also J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du Sultanat de Roum" in *Mélanges Charles Diehl, Études sur l'Histoire et sur l'Art de Byzance*, i (Paris, 1930), 180.

[3] Acts, xiv. 11. [4] XII. viii. 1-4.

limits between the Phrygians and Mysians. For example, the Gauls, according to St. Jerome,[1] still spoke a Gallic language late in the fourth century, over 600 years after their arrival in Anatolia. Another instance of such a minority is afforded by the Magousaioi, against whose customs and beliefs the fourth-century Cappadocian fathers inveigh. These were probably a Persian people, transported by one of the Achaemenids to strengthen his hold on Asia Minor. Eusebius,[2] who criticizes their custom of marrying within the forbidden degrees, and their pagan Persian rituals, says that in his time they were very numerous in Phrygia and Galatia.

The Empire had, after four centuries of Arab raids across the Taurus, developed an efficient strategy of frontier defence, and was able to withstand deep incursions into its territories, which at some periods were repeated almost annually. The Turkish invasion, however, presented a problem of quite different character. For while the attacks of the Arabs from their advanced bases in Cilicia and North Syria were undertaken by light raiding parties who were ready to retreat after each season's campaign,[3] the Turks came to settle, and brought in the wake of their armies whole tribes, complete with families and livestock, in search of new homes and pastures.

Cahen [4] has outlined the main stages of the Seljuk conquest of Anatolia, from a study of Arab sources. According to his account, the break-through at Manzikert was simply an outstanding episode in a long process of infiltration. Before 1071,

[1] *Preface to Commentary on Galatians Book II* (*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser. vi (Oxford, 1893), 497).

[2] *Praeparatio Evangelica*, vi (ed. F. Vigerus, Paris, 1628), 275, 279. See also St. Basil, *Letters*, No. 258, § 4 (*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser. viii (Oxford, 1895), 295-6).

[3] W. M. Ramsay, "The war of Moslem and Christian for the possession of Asia Minor", chap. VIII of *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. M. Ramsay (Aberdeen, 1906).

[4] C. Cahen, "Les grandes lignes de l'histoire de la pénétration turque en Anatolie et en Syrie pendant la seconde moitié du XI[e] siècle", in *Actes du XXe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Brussels, 1938), p. 336. See also J. Laurent in *Mélanges Diehl*, op. cit. i, pp. 177-82. Laurent believes that the abandonment of the cities to the Turks in Bithynia by Nicephorus Melissenus in 1080 was the crucial surrender which enabled Soliman to set up the virtually independent Sultanate of Roum in the following year.

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Turcoman bands had already moved westwards from Persia, and were recruited through their chiefs as mercenary troops into both Christian and Moslem armies. In the second period, between 1071 and 1087, the organized resistance of the Byzantine Empire broke down, and small autonomous Turcoman states were set up, under local chiefs, in various parts of Anatolia and Syria. These states were weakened, however, by minor jealousies and conflicts. In the third period (1087-92), the empire of Malik Shah imposed a temporary order and unity on the new Turkish conquests from the Oxus to the Maeander; but in the fourth stage (1092-1107), this Empire broke up, and the Crusaders drove a wedge between the Turks of Anatolia and those of Syria, the former becoming united under the Seljuk state with its capital at Konya.

It seems, therefore, that the Turkish conquest did not take the form of a simple attack by a compact army, but was a more insidious penetration by pacific tribes which both preceded and followed the main fighting force. This conclusion is confirmed by Persian historians who distinguished between two classes of the Oghouz Turks when these swept on to the Iranian plateau, the first wave of wandering shepherd folk, content to seek new pastures, and the second wave of conquerors who were prepared to settle and govern.[1]

Already in the early part of the twelfth century the distinction was apparent to the Byzantine historians between the disciplined Turks and the nomads, the Yürüks or Göçebes as they would be called in present-day Turkey. Anna Comnena[2] calls these "Turcomans", while Cinnamus[3] alludes to them as "Nomads" and "Persians", of whom he describes about 2,000 camped in the neighbourhood of Dorylaeum. Nicetas[4] says

[1] W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* ("*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial*" *Series*, n.s. v), chap. II, pp. 180-322, "Central Asia down to the Twelfth Century".

[2] Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, xiv, § 6 (op. cit. p. 284). She says that an enemy general added to his Turkish troops reinforcements *τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Τουρκομάνων*.

[3] Ioannes Cinnamus, *Historia*, vii. § 2 (*Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.*, vol. 26 (Bonn, 1836), p. 295).

[4] Nicetas Choniata, *Historia, de Manuele Comneno*, iii, § 6 (op. cit. p. 163).

they were an emigrant people who with their families moved up to the Byzantine frontiers, in search of pasture for their herds. Bertrandon de la Brocquière [1] saw two types of Turcomans when he was travelling through Cilicia in the fifteenth century; the one having settled, as at Adana and in the villages near Ereğli, the other retaining nomadic habits, as in the group he met near Ayas.

The process of immigration and partial settlement of nomadic tribes has continued until the present. In the last century considerable groups of Avshahrs moved into Anatolia through Armenia,[2] and as late as 1951, although in consequence of strict frontier control immigration by land is no longer possible, several thousand refugee Khazak nomads came by way of sea after passing through India. Having been granted asylum in Turkey, these are faced with the same choice of settling to agriculture or retaining their nomadic economy.

The evidence of Anthropology

A recent anthropological study [3] among the Yürüks of southern Anatolia has shown a marked physical difference between these folk and the settled Turkish population, and, taken together with an earlier investigation by von Luschan,[4] has confirmed the impression that the settled Turks are racially a mixture between the immigrant Turks and the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

Von Luschan described in 1911 a racial variety which he recognized in a number of remote highland communities in Western Asia, ranging from the Tahtajis of Lycia to the Druses of Syria, the Yezidis of Iraq, and the Ali-Ullah-hi of Azerbaijan. This type is of short stature, with a pallid complexion, a prominent nose, a tendency to hirsuteness, and a very broad and high-domed head, with the line of the neck continued vertically

[1] *Travels*, op. cit. pp. 313-20.

[2] W. M. Ramsay, "The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor . . .", op. cit. p. 37.

[3] K. Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-Antropolojik Tetkiki*, Ankara (Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi), 1941.

[4] F. von Luschan, "The Early Inhabitants of Western Asia", *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, xli (1911), 221-44.

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into the occiput. Since this stock is found in isolated districts among peoples whose ancient beliefs have led to their ostracism by the surrounding population, it may fairly be described as the old Anatolian type. Von Luschan was wrong, however, in referring to it as aboriginal, for it is now clear that the earliest inhabitants of Anatolia were long-headed Mediterranean folk,[1] and that this high-headed Armenoid type evolved during the second millennium B.C. from a mixture between these and incoming Alpine stocks. It has become exaggerated and fixed by prolonged inbreeding in isolated communities.

The Yürüks of southern Anatolia show physical features which are also quite uniform, and which are very similar to those of the Turks of Central Asia, themselves a very stable mixture between an old Mediterranean stock and a Mongoloid strain. The skeleton is tall and robust, the head long, the face high with prominent cheek-bones; and the eyes occasionally show a tendency towards the Mongoloid "fold".

The settled Turkish folk,[2] as might be expected, are much more variable than either of the preceding groups. Though including many individuals who closely resemble the Yürük type, they are, on the average, shorter in stature and have more rounded faces and heads than the Yürüks. But the brachycephaly of the sedentary Turks does not often take the extreme form which is seen in the refugees of the mountain retreats; it produces more frequently the rounded "Alpine" profile, which can be traced back in Anatolia to very early Hittite times. There is also present, especially in the towns and villages of southern Anatolia, an element of the small Mediterranean race, with short stature, delicate skeleton, dark complexion and long head, which may be aboriginal or descended from Macedonian and other colonists of Hellenistic times.

The evidence from physical anthropology is very tentative, but, such as it is, it corroborates the historical indications that the sedentary population of Turkey is usually a blend between the

[1] M. Şenürek, "Anadolu Bakır çağı ve Eti sekenesinin kraniyolojik tetkiki", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, v, 19 (1941), pp. 219-36.

[2] K. Güngör quotes authorities (op. cit. p. 11, footnote [2]). See also C. S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (New York, 1939), 617-22.

pre-Turkish inhabitants and the immigrant tribesfolk, with the former element predominating; while it also points to a clear ethnic difference between two groups of "outcaste" communities in Anatolia: the wandering Yürüks, Göçebes, and Turcomans on the one hand, little altered since their arrival from Central Asia; and, on the other, the Bektashis, Kizilbash and Tahtajis, ancient settled folk who in isolated regions may have been little influenced, physically or culturally, by the various currents of civilization which have flowed through Anatolia from Hellenistic times onwards.

The manner of the Turkish settlement

The manifest social difference between villagers and tribesfolk was accentuated by the special treatment which the latter received at the hands of the Ottoman administration. Ahmet Refik's collection of legal enactments [1] relating to the Yürük tribes shows that they were liable as groups to taxation and to conscription for special tasks, such as the building of fortifications. The scale of contributions, whether of money or labour, was based on regular censuses taken on the summer pastures, and the tribe was jointly responsible, through its headman, for fines for dereliction of duty. The administration had frequently to take stern measures to settle quarrels between adjacent tribes, and deportations on a large scale, especially to Cyprus, were not uncommon.

Settlement in Anatolia implied for the Turks not only a radical change in their material economy, but also the abandonment of their tribal organization in favour of village life, which operated according to quite different customs. The tribe, which was the usual economic unit of the Central Asian Turks, comprised a number of clans, each of which was exogamous and recognized by its peculiar clan-crest or totem (*tamga*). The families, clans, tribes and larger groupings were generally arranged in multiples of ten, each with its own leader, an organization of military character which made possible rapid mustering and swift transmission of orders in times of war and crisis. The tribe had no strict territorial basis, but would generally claim

[1] A. Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri* (966-1200) (Istanbul, 1930).

certain rights of pasturage over an ill-defined area, and any disputes on this score would be submitted to higher arbitration. The authority of the heads of clan or tribe was personal rather than official or hereditary, and election to this position was often temporary. Despite this, there was among the old Turks a feudal hierarchy, though not so much among individuals as among clans and tribes. Thus there were slave-clans as well as rich clans.[1]

By contrast with the Turkish tribe, the Anatolian village was a much more self-contained community, whose limits were strictly defined, and which was organized into two strata of society. These in Phrygian times were the priests and serfs—a distinction which Strabo [2] still observed at the Comanas and other old religious centres in the first century A.D. Later the high-priests were succeeded by the owners of the great fortified farms or *tetrapyrgoi*.[3]

The first stage through which the Turkish tribes passed in their adjustment to Anatolian conditions was usually one of fragmentation. This would follow from their finding much more limited stretches of territory available for pasture than in their homeland. Thus the Avshahrs,[4] for example, have left one section in the neighbourhood of Lake Urmia, while another group was driven from the Uzun Yaila in the last century by a band of Circassians and took up residence in the Anti-Taurus. Quite separate from these main bodies are two villages of settled Avshahrs in south-western Phrygia in the Kara-Hüyük Ova. Another tribal group whose wide distribution throughout Anatolia can be traced by ethnic and place names is the Kay,[5] an Oghouz tribe akin to the Ottomans, which took part in the first

[1] V. V. Barthold, *Les Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1945); B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime Social des Mongols* (Paris, 1948).

[2] XII. ii. 3; XII. iii. 34; XII. iii. 37; XII. v. 3.

[3] W. M. Ramsay (ed. J. G. C. Anderson), *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (London, 1941).

[4] J. T. Bent, "Report to Committee on Nomad Tribes of Asia Minor", *British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report*, 1889 (Newcastle), p. 176; W. M. Ramsay, "The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor . . .", op. cit. pp. 35, 38-9.

[5] M. Fuad Köprülü, "*Kay* Kabîlesi hakkında yeni notlar", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, viii, 31 (1944), pp. 421-52; F. Demirtaş, "Osmanli devrinde Anadolu'da Kayılar", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, xii, 47 (1948), pp. 575-615.

conquest of the country, and was then dispersed to districts as far apart as Konya, Ankara and Menteşe.

The settlement of these tribal groups has taken place, at least in modern times, not by the piecemeal attachment of separate families to existing villages, as seems to happen on the northern fringe of the Syrian desert,[1] but through a general decision of the whole group, under the leadership of the headman, who may be under pressure from the administration.

An example is afforded by a village of Pontus in the bend of the Halys.[2] This area has produced no buildings, monuments or inscriptions dating from the time between the Seljuk conquest and the eighteenth century. During this period the district was occupied by nomad tribes who ruled in virtual independence of the Ottoman authority. One of these tribes, the Capan Oğlu, rose to considerable power in the eighteenth century, and encouraged Greek and Armenian artisans and farmers to migrate into their territory. Gradually the nomads themselves settled down in groups alongside the newcomers, whose economy they imitated.

In the Cilician plain, tribal settlement within the last century has usually been on feudal lines.[3] Former tribal chiefs, even if defeated and coerced into settlement by the government, were often given administrative titles, and granted land on which their former tribesfolk worked as tenants. Whole villages were generally occupied by members of a single tribe, though in the case of the larger settlements craftsmen and farmers were attracted from neighbouring districts and communities. In some cases the newly created landlords have left their villages to enter politics or the professions, and the tenants have acquired the freehold of their land.

If the earliest settlement of the Seljuk tribes is assumed to have taken place in a similar fashion, by the temporary dispossession of the indigenous inhabitants, the subsequent

[1] S. Lloyd and W. C. Brice, "Harran", *Anatolian Studies*, i (1951), 82.

[2] J. A. Morrison, *Alişar: a unit of land occupance in the Kanak Su basin of Central Anatolia* (Thesis submitted to the University of Chicago, 1938. Privately reproduced.)

[3] W. Eberhard, "Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey. Problems of Settlement", *Oriens*, vi (1953), 32-49.

settlement of the tribe in groups, and the return of the former inhabitants to attach themselves to the new villages, several characteristics of the Turkish colonization of the countryside become explicable. In the first place, the shift of the site of so many places, usually over quite a short distance, may be understood. This is hard to trace in the case of villages, but is noticeable, as will be shown below,[1] with many towns and cities. The old situation was often unhealthy and uncomfortable, and chosen for administrative convenience, while the Turkish settlers, then as now, would be more concerned to find clear air and fresh water. Second, the general supersession of the old village name by the clan or tribal title would follow naturally from this order of events. Third, the rapid conversion of the country to Islam and Turkish speech—except in the case of some remote villages of Cappadocia which remained Greek-speaking and Christian[2]—can be explained if the former inhabitants had to return as suppliants to the new foundations.

When did Anatolian agriculture decline?

Most of the crafts of Turkish village life, with the exception of certain techniques of animal husbandry, must have been learnt by the newcomers from the native inhabitants. Turkish tribes in Central Asia sometimes undertake casual cultivation of cereals at certain points on their annual itinerary, but most of their requirements other than the produce of their herds are obtained by trade from oases on the fringe of their territory. In particular, they would be most unlikely to have experience of the elaborate techniques of irrigation, grafting and pruning which are necessary for growing the tree-crops—olive, fig, vine, apricots, poplar and the like—which are so important in the Anatolian village economy.

It is certain that the standard of cultivation in Anatolia has declined between classical times and the present. Not only have special products for which certain districts, according to Strabo,[3] were famous, ceased to be known—the horses of

[1] Pp. 39-40.

[2] R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916).

[3] XI. xiv. 9; XIII. iv. 11; XII. viii. 16.

Armenia, for example, the wine of Lydia, and the fleeces of Phrygia —but particular skills have been forgotten. For instance, the technique of " caprification ", whereby the fig crop is improved by laying a branch of the wild tree on the cultivated, is described by Pliny [1] as if it were usual, but it is now rarely practised : and St. Paul,[2] in his elaborate metaphor about the grafting of the olive, speaks of one process, the grafting of the wild branch on the cultivated stock, which is not now followed.

Since large areas of Anatolia went out of cultivation, at least temporarily, at the time of the Turkish conquest, the suspicion arises that this may have been the time when the standard of cultivation fell. There is, however, good reason to think that the decline had set in long before the arrival of the Turks.

In Anatolia of Hellenistic, Achaemenid, Phrygian and possibly also earlier times, the rural economy was closely linked with the local religion.[3] In the village (*kome*), the centre of the life of the community was the temple (*hieron*) with its college of priests. The supreme deity was the Mother Goddess (Ma, Cybele), the personification of the powers of wild nature. She was the source of all earthly life, and to her it must inevitably return. The secrets of harnessing and using the energies of the Goddess belonged to her son-spouse, Attis, Lairbenos, Sabazios or Men, as he was variously called. This knowledge was, of course, essential for the practice of the arts of husbandry and agriculture, and was revealed by the God to his earthly representatives, the priests of the temple. They in turn passed on the secrets to the populace by means of the religious plays and dramas (" mysteries ") which were enacted for the benefit of the initiated.

These mysteries appear to have been intended to represent the divine example, which it was the duty of men to imitate. This example related not only to matters of religious significance (ritual ceremonies, purifications and the like), but also to affairs

[1] *Nat. Hist.* xv. 21.

[2] Romans, xi. 17-24. See W. M. Ramsay's discussion of this passage in " The Olive-Tree and the Wild-Olive ", chap. IX of *Pauline and other Studies in Early Christian History* (London, 1908).

[3] W. M. Ramsay, article " Phrygians " in vol. ix of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1917).

of social life (marriage observances, for example), and even to undertakings of a purely technical kind. Indeed, it seems that economic, social and religious obligations were not clearly distinguished by the old Phrygian society. Earthly life, in all its manifold aspects, was a mirror of the ideal heavenly existence. It was the duty of humans to copy the divine example as closely as possible. But the practice did not always match the intention —the mirror was often imperfect.

The formula for dealing with a sin, crime or fault (the three kinds of misdemeanour were treated similarly) is preserved in numerous inscriptions. The penitent confesses his error, says in what it consisted, recounts his penance (usually a ritual purification, fine, or rendering of service to the temple) and exhorts the reader to be warned by his example.

In practice this meant that the priestly community had a close control over the life of the village in all its aspects, including the economic. By way of apology for this system, it should be appreciated that the skills of agriculture had been steadily perfected, by generations of experience, to suit local conditions. Moreover, the temples were not only concerned with preserving the traditional rural economy, but with improving it wherever possible. Many of the larger temples specialized in one particular skill, such as bee-keeping (at Ephesus), cattle-breeding, or goat-herding. Much controlled experiment must have been undertaken, and have contributed to the high efficiency of old Anatolian farming. The larger temples, in fact, acted as agricultural research stations.

It is known that, for over a millennium after the Macedonian conquest, the old religion and customs of rural Phrygia were gradually weakened by conflict with the ideas which derived from the Greek schools of philosophy, from the official cult of the Emperors, and from Christianity. All three were first established in the municipalities, but their influence slowly radiated into the countryside.

As the strength of the old Phrygian religion was sapped, it would follow that the rural skills, whose improvement and preservation were so closely linked with it, would decline also, long before the Turkish conquest.

On their part, the Turks contributed to the Anatolian village economy the practice of seasonal migration with flocks in search of fresh pastures. The custom of semi-nomadism is now so general in Turkey as to be typical of Anatolian village life. Yet there is no evidence of it in pre-Turkish times. Strabo,[1] it is true, speaks of the predatory tribes of the Pisidian hills and the wandering Leleges with whom they were mixed. But seasonal nomadism of the sort which is practised by both Yürüks and villagers in present-day Turkey depends on the pacific state of the countryside and on the guarantee of unmolested movement between pastures. Hence the constant concern of the Ottoman administration, as Refik's compilation[2] shows, to keep the Yürüks under control. Outlaw hill tribes like Strabo's Pisidians would inhibit any tendency to seasonal migration up the slopes. The high town of Olba in the Taurus may have been used as a cool summer retreat by the inhabitants of Sebaste and the other coastal towns of Cilicia Tracheia. But this is quite different from seasonal movement with flocks, and although the evidence is inconclusive, since no exhaustive search has been made, no sign of pre-Turkish occupation of the *yaylas* or high summer pastures of the Taurus or Anti-Taurus has yet been found. Admittedly the seasonal occupation of a few temporary shelters by a group from a village would leave little trace, but if repeated year by year near the same water-courses, as happens now, some residue of occupation would be expected to accumulate.

The semi-nomadism of Turkish villages takes many different forms. Occasionally, as in the Anti-Taurus behind Maraş, the whole population vacates the winter village in early summer and occupies another village among springs and orchards higher up the mountain side. More usually only part of the village population moves uphill with the flocks in summer, to live for some weeks in tents or temporary shelters. On their return they bring down hay or oak-leaves to be stored as winter fodder. Occasionally, as on the Ala Dağ, agriculture is undertaken at the summer settlement.[3] At Maraş, the summer excursion to the

[1] XIII. vii. 3.

[2] A. Refik, op. cit.

[3] J. Frödin, "Les Formes de la Vie Pastorale en Turquie", *Uppsala Univ. Geografiska Annaler*, Band 26 (1944), 219–72.

high pastures is no longer so much an economic necessity as a privilege of the more wealthy, who take their animals for some weeks to the pastures of the summit of the mountain-range behind the town, where they camp in semi-subterranean shelters of stones, boughs and turf. At Muğla in Caria the summer station is not on a hill slope but among orchards on the outskirts of the town. The winter excursion from Harran into the Tektek Dağ is also regarded as a brief holiday ; [1] and Hogarth [2] observed a pathetic instance in Lycaonia of villagers living in summer tents within sight of their houses, in an attempt to preserve the custom of the summer migration.

Hogarth regarded this as the last stage in the process of adjustment from nomadic to village life. Ramsay,[3] too, looked on the custom of seasonal nomadism as a transitional stage between a nomadic and an agricultural existence. Certainly it is impossible to make a firm division between nomadic and village economy in Turkey, especially as many of the Yürüks, in Cilicia Tracheia for example, undertake extensive cereal cultivation in their winter quarters. But the evidence has shown that the change from nomadic to settled status in Turkey is not gradual. The distinction is clear, and marked in the Cilician plain, for example, by the granting of some administrative title, such as *Kaymakam*, to the head of the tribe.[4] Once the change is made, the community would be deeply offended to be called " Yürüks ". The conclusion would seem to be that the difference between nomads and villagers in Turkey is social rather than economic. The transition from the one status to the other may be influenced by a gradual evolution in the economy of the community, but the crucial step is taken when they abandon their tribal discipline and independence and submit to the ordinary administration of the country.

Strangely, although travellers have often acknowledged the contribution which the Turkish immigrants have made to

[1] S. Lloyd and W. C. Brice, op. cit. p. 82.

[2] D. G. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (London, 1896), pp. 79-81.

[3] W. M. Ramsay, " The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor . . .", op. cit. p. 33.

[4] W. Eberhard, op. cit. p. 47.

the pastoral industry of Anatolia, the usual instance which is given, that of the breeding of the Angora goat, is more likely to have been an old Anatolian technique which they learned from the native villagers.

The naturalist Tchihatcheff,[1] for example, believed that the Angora goat, with its long, white, silky fleece, was introduced by the Seljuks. He based his argument on the fact that the breed is not mentioned by any of the ancient geographers; the wools of Lycian and Cilician goats, the only kinds spoken of as coming specially from Anatolia, were coarse and cheap. But Tchihatcheff was puzzled to find the Angora goat so extremely localized in a small district of Galatia and Pontus, and ascribed this to some local quality of the water or climate. Moreover, he could find no Angora goats in the Seljuk homeland in Central Asia, the nearest comparisons being the long-haired goat of Tibet and the long-haired cat of Boukhtarma.

Strabo[2] says that special breeds of sheep were kept in Anatolia, as at Gadilonitis in Pontus, where they were protected with covers made of skins, and at Laodiceia and Colossae in Phrygia, where the raven-coloured fleeces were highly prized. The secrets of selective breeding were, therefore, known in early Anatolia, but this skill does not seem to have been carefully practised, except with horses, in the Turkish homeland, where the common "Karamanli" fat-tailed sheep and black goat are the usual domesticated varieties.

Although, therefore, the first known mention of the Angora goat is by the sixteenth-century Belgian naturalist, Pierre Belon,[3] who describes it in Lycaonia between Ereğli and Ismil, it seems likely that it was a local breed in early Anatolia long before the Turkish invasions. There were "goat-priests" in ancient Phrygia,[4] where many of the temples, as has been seen, taught and experimented in special skills of agriculture; and their particular

[1] P. de Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure, Description Physique, Statistique et Archéologique*, ii (Paris, 1856), 689–725.

[2] XII. iii. 13; XII. viii. 16.

[3] P. Belon, *Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez*, etc., ii. (Antwerp, 1555), 96 (quoted by Tchihatcheff, op. cit. ii. 716).

[4] W. M. Ramsay, "Wolf-priests, Goat-priests, Ox-priests, Bee-priests", chap. VII of *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* (London, 1927).

duty was doubtless to study the controlled breeding of goats. It may be that the Angora stock was only beginning to be evolved by classical times, and that it was not then sufficiently famous to be known to the geographers. Sir William Ramsay heard that the secrets of keeping the race pure included periodic inter-breeding with a common black goat.[1] Tchihatcheff[2] confirms this when he says that, after considerable winter losses, the animals were kept in enclosed stables and mixed with the common goat. The Angora strain became pure again at the third generation. Tchihatcheff's evidence implies that this out-breeding was intended to keep the strain strong as well as pure.

The deterioration of the landscape of Asia Minor

Since classical times there have been major changes in the landscape of Anatolia: forests have receded, fertile lowlands have been converted into malarial swamps, and harbours have become encumbered with silt. All these processes are intimately interconnected, as modern agrarian economy has shown. The reckless destruction of trees loosens the soil on hill-slopes, which is consequently eroded and washed down in such quantities as to destroy terraced fields, to interrupt the drainage of low-lying valleys, and to fill natural harbours with rapidly growing deltas.

The recession of cultivation and depopulation of the countryside are frequently laid to the charge of the Turkish invaders,[3] who admittedly devastated wide areas along parts of the Byzantine frontier in Phrygia.[4] But it is contended that the deterioration of the countryside commenced early in the Christian era, and had almost run its complete course many centuries before the arrival of the Seljuks in Anatolia.

Before searching for human causes for these topographical changes, two possible natural causes must be examined and

[1] W. M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wanderings* (London, 1897), p. 273.

[2] Tchihatcheff, op. cit. ii, 697.

[3] J. Laurent, for example, contends that in 1050 Byzantine Asia had "une importance capitale dans l'Empire. Trente ans plus tard elle n'était plus qu'un désert". (*Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides*, in *Annales de l'Est*, Nancy, 1913.)

[4] C. Wilson (ed.), *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.* (London, 1895), Introduction, p. [47].

disqualified. In the first place, climatic desiccation might account for the death of the forests without any human intervention, and might thus have set the whole process in motion. The very rich variety of the Anatolian flora and its isolation on separate mountain summits [1] indicate that the country was once better watered than at present, and that since the Ice Age the rainfall has declined; though probably not at a steady rate, and with occasional increases. The evidence of the terminal moraines of Ulu Dağ (Mysian Olympus) points to the same conclusion.[2] This desiccation, however, has been a long and slow process over about 20,000 years, and there is nothing to prove that it has been accelerated sufficiently in the past 2,000 years to explain the rapid retreat of the forests during that period. On the contrary, climatological evidence shows that the rainfall in Europe generally increased slightly during the early Middle Ages.[3]

Second, a rise of the land relative to the sea would produce the effect of a retreating coastline, which would leave harbours stranded. But observations show that there has, on the contrary, been a slight rise in sea-level since classical times along the south and west shores of Asia Minor: the causeway at Clazomenae near Izmir and that at Myndus, the southern breakwater at Knidos, and the quay at Pompeiopolis are all a few inches below the present sea-level.

There is abundant evidence of the destruction of trees in Asia Minor in the past two millennia. No trace, for example, now remains of two woods mentioned by Strabo, the forest round the foot of Mount Argaeus,[4] and the sacred grove, 80 stadia in circumference, of Daphne [5] near Antioch; nor of the "royal forests" spoken of by Livy [6] between Mysia and Lydia, and the forests which Xenophon [7] saw near Muş. Strabo [8] also mentions a wood in the Troad which had formerly existed, but which had disappeared by his time.

[1] P. de Tchihatcheff, op. cit. ii, chap. VIII.

[2] S. Erinç, "Glacial evidences of the climatic variations in Turkey", *Uppsala Univ. Geografiska Annaler*, Band 34 (1952), 89-98.

[3] E. Huntington, "The Burial of Olympia", *Geographical Journal*, xxxvi (1910), 657-86.

[4] XII. ii. 7. [5] XIV. ii. 6. [6] I. 54, 36.

[7] *Katabasis*, I. iv. 4. [8] XIII. i. 65.

There are many examples, especially near the coasts, of the reversion of cultivated land to the wild state. For instance, the delta of the Yeşil Irmak between Samsun and Ünye is covered with a scrub of wild fruit-trees, including the vine, fig, apple and pear, which were once cultivated there. In western Içel, near the ruined cities of Cilicia Tracheia, the wild olive bushes which cover the ground for many miles are not part of the natural vegetation, but the remains of groves which were once tended, as is apparent from the form of their leaves. The olive orchards in the territory of Sinope, on whose importance Strabo [1] remarks, are now only found in a very narrow belt of country along the coast. Again, Theophrastus [2] mentions that the region of Pontus was noted for the special quality of its wheat; but little is now grown there.

The lowland swamps of Anatolia are not alluded to by the classical geographers, except possibly for Strabo's mention [3] of the unhealthy atmosphere of Caunus in Caria, which was doubtless due to its marshy situation. The malarial swamps which now render so insalubrious the environs of ancient Amisus, Ephesus and Tarsus could not have existed while these cities were prospering, nor would Corycus, Sebaste and the other towns of Cilicia Tracheia have endured the present coastal swamps of the district, which are abandoned in summer to wild pig and mosquitoes.

Although there is no direct evidence of when the forests began to be destroyed, the swamps to be formed, and lowland cultivation to be abandoned, there are better indications for deciding when the harbours were silted; and by inference from this knowledge, the other processes may be approximately dated. The canal which joined the port of Ephesus to the retreating coast must have been constructed over several centuries,[4] and was finally abandoned in the sixth century when the old town was deserted for Justinian's new foundation at Ayasoluk. Miletus began to decline in commercial importance after its capture by Alexander. It continued to exist for several centuries into the

[1] XII. iii. 12. [2] *Περὶ Φυτῶν*, VIII. iv. 5. [3] XIV. ii. 3.

[4] Harbour works to counteract silting were begun in the third century B.C. (Strabo, XIV. i. 24).

Christian era, but was probably abandoned about the same time as Ephesus, as the delta of the Maeander filled the Latmic Gulf. Seleuceia Pieria, which has a land-locked harbour and channel, filled with the drifted detritus of the Orontes, fell into its ruinous condition soon after the Moslem conquest in the seventh century. The silt which obstructed the lagoon and lower navigable course of the Cydnus, and now buries the old city of Tarsus to a depth of 15-20 feet, was doubtless already accumulating rapidly when Justinian in the sixth century was obliged to construct a canal to prevent the river from overflowing its banks.

All this evidence suggests that the silting of the lower courses of the Anatolian rivers began shortly before the Christian era, and by the sixth or seventh century was already sufficiently advanced to render useless many harbours of the south and west coasts. It follows that the destruction of forests and conversion of fertile lowlands into swamps took place about the same time, or slightly earlier.

It is suggested that the direct cause of these changes was the large-scale commercial exploitation of the forest, mineral and agricultural resources of Anatolia, which began in Seleucid times and was continued well into the period of Roman domination.

Strabo [1] describes the reckless rate at which Cyprus was depleted of its forest cover at this time, to supply the metal-furnaces and ship-building yards. Settlers were officially encouraged to destroy the trees by being granted the freehold of any ground they could clear.

The forests of Anatolia also, especially those of the seaward slopes of the Taurus and Pontus ranges, were plundered for timber for ship-building. Theophrastus [2] makes special mention of the districts of Mount Ida and Cilicia, and Pliny [3] of Pontus and Bithynia as sources of ships' timbers. Simultaneously, the smelting of iron, silver, copper and quicksilver, which were ancient crafts in the mountains of Pontus and Taurus, but which became particularly prosperous with the opening of the country to wide commerce, made steady demands on local timber.

[1] XIV. vi. 5. [2] *Περὶ Φυτῶν*, IV. v. 5. [3] *Nat. Hist.*, XVI. 76.

It has already been argued [1] that this was the time when some of the old skills of Anatolian farming began to decline, along with the rustic Phrygian religion on which they were closely dependent for their improvement and continuity. One symptom of this decline was an increase in the scale of farming. The village lands, which had formerly been tilled to meet only local requirements of food, were now often combined into large estates which were farmed commercially, especially for the production of livestock. The horses of Cappadocia, the fleeces of Cilicia and the wool of Pontus found a market in other parts of the Roman Empire, and to meet new demands large areas of farmland were probably converted into ranges of pasture. Sometimes native aristocratic families, from which both the religious and secular rulers were recruited, took part in this large-scale farming, as in the case of Amyntas, the last independent ruler of Galatia, whom Strabo mentions [2] as owning above three hundred flocks of sheep. More usually, as at Antioch of Pisidia,[3] the new consolidated estates were imperial property. The official bailiff replaced the high-priest in the position of overseer, and the presiding native goddess gave way to the deified emperor.

The result of so much commercial farming, in which whole districts were exploited for a single special product, would be that so sadly familiar in recent times in countries which have embarked on large-scale agriculture: exhaustion of the soil by tillage, or destruction of the natural grass cover by excessive grazing; and thereafter, erosion of the surface strata.

The destruction of forests continued in many districts into Turkish times. In present-day Caria large pine trees are often fired and felled by the shepherds to convert forest into pasture, despite the discouragement of the government which has made this an offence. In Kurdistan, trees are stunted and frequently destroyed by the cutting of branches in autumn, for storage as

[1] Pp. 27–9. above. [2] XII. vi. 1.

[3] W. M. Ramsay, "The Tekmoreian Guest-Friends. An anti-Christian society on the Imperial Estates at Antioch", chap. IX of *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ed. W. M. Ramsay (Aberdeen, 1906), pp. 305-9.

winter fodder. Sir Charles Fellows,[1] who travelled in 1838, described the wasteful method of collecting turpentine in Lycia, the tapped trees being burnt and abandoned to decay under the action of the weather: Theophrastus[2] mentions a similar primitive method of forest clearance about Mount Ida. Sir Mark Sykes[3] saw areas of fine forest destroyed in the district of Kastamonu in order to create farm land which, however poor, would, unlike the forests, yield the administration a few taxes. But the resources of Anatolia were never so systematically exploited under Turkish rule as under Roman; if only because in the earlier domination this country was a peripheral province, of importance as a frontier and as a source of raw materials, while for the Seljuks and Ottomans it was the heart of an empire, for which it supplied administrators and soldiers.

The fate of the cities at the Seljuk Conquest

The commercial economy which developed in Anatolia in Hellenistic times contained the seeds of its own destruction, and as the fertility and resources of the countryside were exhausted, and the imperial frontiers contracted, the cities felt their prosperity decline. These municipalities, with their elaborate systems of connecting roads, were artificially grafted on to the country, above all in the first few decades after the Alexandrine conquest. Ethnically and linguistically they long remained distinct from the centres of native life; their complex administration through trade-guilds, residential tribes and age-groups, by a variety of offices, both honorary and stipendiary, was clearly distinct from the simple theocratic rule of the towns and villages of earlier Anatolia; and the philosophies and religions which they propagated never came to satisfactory terms with the old rural cults.

As their strategic and commercial functions became less important, therefore, in the days of the Eastern Empire, these cities rapidly declined. Many of the great ports, as has been seen, had already lapsed into insignificance by the seventh

[1] C. Fellows, *Asia Minor and Lycia* (London, 1852), p. 191.
[2] *Περὶ Φυτῶν*, IX. ii. 7.
[3] M. Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage* (London, 1915), p. 387.

century A.D. In default of detailed exploration, it is less easy to date the depopulation of inland cities. But Apameia decayed rapidly after the fourth century; Antioch began to fall away from its former prosperity in the sixth century; and Colossae was already deserted in the eighth century. The surviving monuments of most of the ruined cities of Anatolia largely date from the early part of the Christian era.

The Turkish conquest, in destroying the last of the colonial cities in the form in which they had survived for over a millennium, gave the final blow to a commercial system which was already in its last stages. These cities, which were entirely dependent for supplies on roads and aqueducts, were able to survive repeated Arab raids, because the attackers quickly withdrew and the lines of communication could be restored. But they were highly vulnerable to the interruptions, both intentional and casual, to their supply lines which were caused by the nomadic Turks, who arrived to occupy the countryside permanently. Repeated ambushes of road traffic, or the removal of stones from aqueducts could sabotage the essential supplies of these cities, and they succumbed quickly to this new threat.[1]

In many cases the Seljuks after an interval refounded these cities, but usually at a short distance from the old site, and frequently under a new name. Thus Dorylaeum was replaced by Eskişehir, Laodiceia by Denizli, and Apameia by Dinar. Often the site of the old city is distinguished by the epithet of "Kara", in the sense of "mysterious", or "awesome": the ruins of Germaniceia, for example, are known as Kara Maraş, and those of Lycandos as Kara Elbistan.

[1] Ioannes Cinnamus (*Historia*, vii, § 2, op. cit. p. 295), describes the desertion of Dorylaeum: ἀλλὰ Πέρσαι . . . τήν τε πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος βεβλημένην ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον παντάπασιν ἐπεποίηντο καὶ τὰ τῇδε πάντα μέχρι καὶ ἐπὶ λεπτὸν τῆς πάλαι σεμνότητος ἠφάνισαν ἴχνος. Bertrandon de la Brocquière (*Travels*, op. cit. p. 313), in 1432, found no more than three hundred houses occupied in Antioch, and they almost all by Turcoman and Arab keepers of herds; but this city had probably been devastated as much by the Crusaders as by the Turks. J. Laurent (see p. 20, footnote 4) contends that for some years Turcomans were encamped beneath the walls of the cities of Bithynia, but were allowed to occupy them in 1080.

These shifts of site were away from the old highways of commerce, to which water had to be brought, and into the foothills, as at Denizli and Maraş, where spring water was readily available and cool breezes tempered the heat of summer. These new foundations were provincial capitals rather then centres of commerce, and much more intimately linked with their surrounding countryside than the earlier cities had been. When the Seljuks re-established trade through Anatolia, the links on their highways were not the provincial cities, which usually lay aside from the main roads, but the *hans* placed at regular intervals of 20-25 miles.[1] These establishments are not so much an indication of the troubled state of the country [2] as proof of the changed system of commerce and communication. Rapid travel along well-kept and garrisoned highways which ran directly between municipalities was succeeded by journeying by daily stages along a few recognized caravan routes which connected distant parts of the Seljuk dominions.[3]

Islam in Anatolia

A study of the religious beliefs and customs of the present population might be expected to shed light on the character of the Turkish colonization by showing where pre-Islamic ideas have survived most tenaciously, and how far Turkish Islam has been coloured by earlier Anatolian religions.[4]

Unfortunately the question is complicated by the very indeterminate state of the beliefs of the Turkish tribes when they left their homes in Central Asia. They had only recently been converted to Islam, and retained many of their earlier shamanistic beliefs, while some had also come under Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist influences. Moreover, the religious state of Anatolia in the early eleventh century was by no means uniform,

[1] O. Turan, "Selçuk Kervansarayları", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, x, 39 (1946), pp. 471-96.

[2] As W. M. Ramsay suggested in "The Peasant God", chap. V of *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion* (London, 1908), pp. 185-7.

[3] A system common in many parts of Asia in the Middle Ages. Cf. W. C. Brice, "Caravan Traffic across Asia", *Antiquity*, xxviii (1954), 78-84.

[4] J. H. Kramers, "Islam in Asia Minor", *Analecta Orientalia*, i (Leiden, 1954), 22-32.

for while orthodox Christianity prevailed in the cities, heresies of various kinds were constantly arising in the countryside.

Further, Shi'ah influences were felt in Anatolia, through the contacts which the migrating Turks naturally made with the Persian population in their passage across Khorasan, and through the preaching of wandering Sufis, and the propaganda of the envoys of Shah Ismail in the sixteenth century.

Despite these complications, it is possible to distinguish between the beliefs of two groups of heterodox people in Anatolia, who have already been classified separately on economic and anthropological grounds. On the one hand, the pastoral Yürüks retain many of the simple shamanistic beliefs of their Central Asian ancestors ; on the other, the village-dwelling Tahtajis and Kizilbash hold very dogmatic and eclectic views, which appear to be strongly influenced by Shi'ah beliefs.

The shamanistic customs of the nomadic tribes, which Bent [1] noticed as far apart as the Taurus mountains and Lake Urmia, include the common practice of divination, the placation of the spirits of trees, and the reverence for the tombs of tribal ancestors, usually placed on the summer grazing-grounds.

By contrast, Bent [2] saw in the beliefs of a series of separate refugee communities in the mountains of Western Asia evidence of the survival of a formerly more extensive pagan religion. Thus the Tahtajis of Lycia, the Kizilbash of Cappadocia, the Ansairee of Cilicia, and the Ali-Ullah-hi of Lake Urmia share beliefs in Baba Nazere as the founder of their religion, in the god-head of Ali, and in the Trinity of Ali, Mohammed and Salman-el-Farsi. All drink wine at a kind of communion service, as " the image of Ali ". These similarities may be reasonably taken as evidence of contact in each case with Shi'ah ideas ; though some more specific instances, like the reverence of both the Tahtajis of Lycia and the Yezidis of Iraq for the

[1] J. T. Bent, " The Yourouks of Asia Minor ", *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xx (1891), 269-76 ; J. T. Bent, " Report to the Committee on Nomad Tribes of Asia Minor ", *Brit. Assoc. for Adv. of Sci., Report*, 1889 (Newcastle), p. 176.

[2] J. T. Bent, " Report to the Committee for investigating Nomad Tribes of Asia Minor and North Persia ", ibid. 1890 (Leeds), p. 535 ; J. T. Bent, " The Ansairee of Asia Minor ", *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xx (1891), pp. 225-6.

peacock as the embodiment of evil,[1] would seem to require a definite historical explanation.

More convincing evidence of the antiquity of the beliefs of the Kizilbash-Tahtaji peoples in Anatolia is the power among them of the Bektashi sect,[2] which has its two chief centres at Kirşehir in Cappadocia and at Elmali in Lycia, in areas where the Kizilbash and Tahtajis are most numerous. Though many of the *tarikas* or religious orders of Anatolian Islam were inspired by Persian contacts, others, and in particular the Bektashi, may be of indigenous origin. Certainly, semi-religious trade-guilds, of the sort which are closely associated with the *tarikas*, were already present in pre-Turkish Anatolia, and remained open for Christian as well as Moslem membership in Ottoman times.[3] The Anatolian dervish orders had much in common with the Corybantes or priests of Cybele; both danced to the music of flutes and cymbals, and practised self-mutilation. Some of the heretic Christian communities of Anatolia who inclined to ecstatic rituals may have been the link between them.

Hasluck's[4] observation has proved the wide survival of Christian elements in Anatolian Islam, and the persistence of the sanctity of certain places into Islamic from Christian and even earlier times. The common custom of respecting a saint's tomb in Turkish villages is not, however, so easily explained as a pre-Islamic survival. In some cases, as near Süveydiye at the Orontes mouth, where the saint is called Khidr-el-Hay, he may well have a pagan ancestry. But where, as often, he carries the name of his village, he could be the eponymous ancestor of a nomadic tribe whose tomb was transferred from the summer pastures to the new village, where he is regarded as its founder. This may have happened at the village of Hassan-dede,[5] at the

[1] J. T. Bent, "The Yourouks of Asia Minor", op. cit. p. 270; J. W. Crowfoot, "A Yezidi Rite", *Man*, vol. i (1901), article no. 122.

[2] J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937).

[3] H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West* (London, 1950), p. 283.

[4] F. W. Hasluck (ed. M. M. Hasluck), *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929).

[5] J. W. Crowfoot, "Survivals among the Kappadokian Kizilbash (Bektash)", *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxx (1900), 309. Crowfoot would recognize here vestiges

crossing of the Halys river near Ankara. Seidi Ghazi is a more definite historical hero, and the village in Phrygia was probably built round his tomb and named after him. A puzzling instance occurs at Harran, where the local saint, Sheikh Hayat-el-Harrani, who is clearly the eponymous founder of the place, bears like the village a name of very ancient origin. He was possibly adopted by the present inhabitants, who are mostly Arabs, from their pagan predecessors on the site.

Conclusions

Present place-names may give a clue to the character of the Turkish colonization in particular cases. It seems generally to have happened that a Turkish town which continued on the site of its predecessor retained the old name, as at Konya, Tarsus, and Kayseri; while if, as frequently, it was refounded a short distance from the ruined place, it was re-named, for instance at Aydin (the former Tralles), Dinar (Apameia), and Maraş (Germaniceia). Villages rarely kept their old name; generally they received a purely descriptive title, such as Akpinar or Çaylarbaşi, or else they were called after the tribe which settled there, Karakeçi, for example, or Ahmetli. It was probably only in a few special cases, where the village remained largely Greek-speaking, that old names survived in a mispronounced form, like Efsus (Ephesus), Tefenni (Stephanos) and Ayasoluk[1] (Hagios Theologos).

The nineteenth-century traveller W. M. Leake[2] remarked on passing a Turkish mollah who was journeying in excessive comfort " Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit ". But the taste for Byzantine luxuries only affected a very small proportion of the Turkish conquerors. The immediate result of their arrival was the final collapse of the Graeco-Roman municipal foundations on whose lavish expenditure of the resources of the country the wealth of Constantinople had long depended. The

of hero cults of the ancient Aegean world, and, more specifically, ethnic survivals of the Magousaioi (see p. 20 and footnote 2).

[1] Occasionally the old pre-Greek name, which must have always continued in popular use, was revived in Turkish times, as at Edessa, the pre-Hellenistic Orhai and Turkish Urfa.

[2] W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), pp. 3-4.

Turks preferred village to city life, and even when they refounded the cities, on a smaller scale and on a quite different plan, most of the traders or craftsmen belonged to the *millets* or minorities. Village life was enriched by the Turkish arts of animal husbandry, especially those concerned with seasonal migration ; and although many of the skills which had kept the balance of rural economy in pre-Hellenistic times were never recovered, the decline in the fertility of the countryside was generally arrested after the municipalities collapsed.

THE EARLIEST NEW TESTAMENT [1]

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I

THE earliest New Testament appeared some time between the years 170 and 180. Any date before 170 can be ruled out for a number of reasons. Just as Harnack says that Justin and the Montanist movement offer the "strongest testimony that in the sixth decade of the second century there was no such thing as a New Testament",[2] so are there other witnesses which attest to the fact that in the seventh decade of the second century there was still no such thing as a New Testament. First, and perhaps the most important, is the witness of Tatian who composed his *Diatessaron* in Rome about A.D. 170.[3] Had the Church at Rome already possessed a collection of "books of the New Covenant" containing only apostolic writings, such a move would have been

[1] Much of this material appeared in the writer's doctoral dissertation, which was completed in May 1952, at Duke University.

[2] Adolf von Harnack, *The Origin of the New Testament and the Most Important Consequences of the New Creation* (Convent Garden, 1925), p. 94. This book, translated by J. R. Wilkinson, is hereafter referred to as *Origin of the New Testament.*

[3] Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (New York, 1920), p. 169, and Morton Scott Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York, 1938), p. 502, hold that the *Diatessaron* was written in Rome c. A.D. 170. Edward Caldwell Moore, *The New Testament in the Christian Church* (New York, 1904), p. 91, says that it was produced in Syria, after Tatian left Rome in 172. In the overall meaning of his act, it really is not too important whether it was done in Rome in 170 or after his departure from Rome in 172. In either case, as a member of the Roman Church for twenty years and as a former student of Justin, it seems impossible that he would have taken four books from a sacred canon and combined them in such a way that they would lose their apostolic authorship. The New Testament, when it did appear, had its "apostolic" character just as did the rule of faith and the episcopal office. If Tatian had dared to rob the gospels of their "apostolic" recommendations (which inclusion in the New Testament gave them), there would have been a great outcry. See also Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Formation of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1926), p. 58; this work is hereafter referred to as *Formation.*

impossible. At the time that Tatian composed his *Diatessaron* the four gospels were circulating in the form of the fourfold gospel and not as a part of the New Testament. The fourfold gospel itself was of recent enough creation for Tatian to remember what its purpose had been—to express the unity of the gospel. That, in reality, was what Tatian's *Diatessaron* attempted to do. Enslin sees clearly Tatian's witness to this status of the four gospels. He writes,

> Tatian's selection of the four gospels evidences their dominance in Rome; on the other hand, his freedom in recasting the material, his use of John as the framework, with his arrangement of such incidents as the interview with Nicodemus which he placed in the last winter of Jesus' life, his recognition of the fact that divergent accounts (as the Cleansing of the Temple or the Healing of the Blind at Jericho) do not mean separate incidents—all this indicates that the gospels had not achieved a sacrosanctness which precluded change or rearrangement.[1]

Theophilus' Harmony of the four gospels, produced in Antioch about A.D. 175-180,[2] supports the evidence of Tatian. If a New Testament had been produced in Rome before 170 neither of these two literary works would have been possible on the part of orthodox Christians.[3]

In addition to the testimony of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and of the harmony produced some five or ten years later by Theophilus, there is also the evidence furnished by the Alogi and the Martyrs of Scilli. If a New Testament had been in existence by 170, the Alogi could not have rejected the logos doctrine and the writings of John and still have considered themselves to be orthodox Christians.[4] In like manner, the existence of a New Testament before 170 in Rome would probably have ruled out the view of the Martyrs of Scilli, in 180, that the letters of Paul were on a

[1] Enslin, op. cit. pp. 467-8.

[2] Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, pp. 79-80.

[3] Tatian was later proclaimed a heretic, but there was no mention of his *Diatessaron* as heretical. When he was adjudged heretical it was on other grounds. See Enslin, op. cit. p. 467, and B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, i (Oxford, 1922), 199-201. The fact that Tatian was a member of the Roman Church for twenty years, was closely associated with Justin, and was also a teacher after Justin's death, suggests that if he had known the New Testament his understanding of it would have kept him from composing this work.

[4] See Henry Melvill Gwatkin, *Early Church History, to A.D. 313*, ii. (London, 1927), 185-6, and William Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1918), p. 72.

somewhat lower plane than the Jewish scriptures and the gospels.[1] The prestige and influence of the Roman Church was felt, toward the end of the third quarter of the second century, throughout the central area of the Roman world,[2] so that the appearance of a New Testament in Rome before 170 undoubtedly would have been felt in North African Scilli no later than 180. What Harnack has written about Carthage in 200 also holds true of Scilli in 180: "... people only knew that while the Roman Church had an apostolic origin, their own had not; consequently the 'auctoritas' of the former church must be recognized".[3]

Just as a lower limit of A.D. 170 can be set for the emergence of the New Testament so can an upper limit of 180 be accepted. The writings of Irenaeus, c. 182-7, reflect the existence of the New Testament although Irenaeus himself does not use this phrase. If such a collection, whether formally made or only generally recognized, had not existed at this time, then Irenaeus' "arguments against the falsification of the Scriptures by subtractions and additions would have had no point".[4] Harnack is right in saying that such a collection is regarded by Irenaeus and Tertullian as completed. The Bibles of the heretics are "tested by the Church compilation as the older one, and the latter itself is already used exactly like the Old Testament".[5]

[1] This appears to be the universal interpretation of the statement in *The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*. See Enslin, op. cit. p. 464; Moore, op. cit. p. 97; Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 63.

[2] Concerning the primacy of Rome at this early date, see B. J. Kidd, *The Roman Primacy to A.D. 461* (London, 1936), pp. 11-22, and Adolf Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, i. (New York, 1908), 485-6. Harnack's work, translated by James Moffatt, is hereafter cited as *Expansion of Christianity*.

[3] Harnack, ibid. i. 486.

[4] F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, *Irenaeus of Lugdunum: A Study of His Teaching* (Cambridge, 1914), p. 213.

[5] Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. (Boston, 1897), 44. This work was translated by Neil Buchanan from the third German edition. Harnack continues, "The assumption of the inspiration of the books; the harmonistic interpretation of them; the idea of their absolute sufficiency with regard to every question which can arise and every event which they record; the right of unlimited combination of passages; the assumption that nothing in the Scriptures is without importance; and finally, the allegorical interpretation: are the immediately observable result of the creation of the canon."

It is safe, therefore, to set a top limit of A.D. 180 for the appearance of the New Testament in the Roman Church. Perhaps the concept of the New Testament had emerged several years earlier, so that Irenaeus may have become acquainted with it on his visit to Rome in 177. This, however, can only remain conjecture. We can only say with certainty that the New Testament was consciously created in Rome in the decade between A.D. 170 and 180.

II

The date of 170 to 180, which we have arrived at for the creation of the New Testament, raises the question of why a second sacred collection was brought forth at this time. What was the motive for the production of a New Testament? There are two answers which are usually given in reply to this question. One, championed most recently by John Knox, holds that "Marcion's canon served as the decisive occasion for its creation".[1] On the other hand, there is found the school, represented by Goodspeed, which emphasizes the role of Montanism. Goodspeed says: "The extreme prophetic claims of Montanism in particular forced upon the Church the more definite fixing of its primary authorities, under the form of a covenant or Testament too original and sacred to admit of modern amplification."[2]

It is probable that both of these are wrong—especially in that they *overemphasize* the influence of each movement at the time that the New Testament was created. Knox, who claims that Marcion's canon was the "decisive occasion" for the creation of the New Testament, is thereby forced to date the emergence of the New Testament much earlier than Goodspeed does. Knox, therefore, claims that the "New Testament came into existence as a conscious creation between A.D. 150 and 175, which was probably the period of Marcion's most vigorous and influential activity".[3] Marcion's canon was a "decisive occasion" for

[1] John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago, 1942), p. 161. [2] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 67.

[3] Knox, op. cit. p. 32. Harnack's view seems to favour the creation of a New Testament between 160 and 180 (which was probably inspired by Marcion's canon), but he suggests that the "relative closed and definite form was acquired between A.D. 180 and 200"—see Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, p. 95.

action, it is true; but this action was the publication of the fourfold gospel and of the expanded Pauline corpus.[1] This in itself was a significant development. Thus it was determined that, when it did emerge, the New Testament would possess four gospels and a rehabilitated (and expanded) Paul. We cannot, however, go so far as to regard Marcion as the creator of the Church's New Testament.

The Roman Church's answer to Marcion came in 155-160, but was not the creation of a New Testament. The Church, shortly after Justin's answer to Marcion's *Antitheses*, replied to Marcion's canon with the fourfold gospel and the expanded Pauline corpus. The New Testament, however, was not created until some twenty years after this date. If Marcion's canon had, as Knox argues, "served as the decisive occasion" for the creation of the New Testament, then the New Testament, rather than the fourfold gospel and the expanded Pauline corpus, would have appeared in 155-160. Marcion, important as he was, cannot be judged to have been the "creator" of the Christian New Testament.

The answer proposed by Goodspeed, that Montanism rather than Marcionism gave the impetus needed to bring about the creation of the New Testament, is also far from convincing. Goodspeed, it will be noted, dates the emergence of this canon of specifically Christian writings at about A.D. 185.[2] He, likewise, places its birth in Rome as do practically all New Testament scholars.[3] Although it appears that the year 180 would be a much safer date for the creation of the New Testament (bearing in mind the testimony of Irenaeus), yet a period of five years is not too important when we consider the reason which Goodspeed proposes for this action. He would have us believe that the New Testament was produced in Rome in 185 as a protest to

[1] See my articles, "The Expansion of the Pauline Corpus," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lxxii (1953), 230-7, and "The Formation of the Fourfold Gospel," BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, vol. 37, No. 1 (1954), pp. 68-77.

[2] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 77.

[3] Ibid. pp. 67-77. See also Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, pp. 104-5, and Knox, op. cit. p. 33, concerning Rome as the place where the idea of the New Testament first arose. There is little or no disagreement among the authorities over the place where the second canon was created.

Montanism. This would place its creation during the episcopate of Eleutherus (174/5-189), whom Irenaeus visited in 177 and who, so we are told, was in sympathy with the Montanists.[1] Is it conceivable that the Church at Rome could have produced the New Testament in reaction to the "extreme prophetic claims of Montanism"[2] at the very time that its bishop was himself favourably inclined toward Montanism? To ask us to believe this is to ask too much.

La Piana, in his very interesting work on the Roman Church at the end of the second century, suggests that Montanism first appeared in Rome about 177, during the early years of the episcopate of Eleutherus.[3] In spite of some opposition, as is suggested by the letter of the Gallican martyrs to Eleutherus, it was not proscribed.[4]

It is very probable that Victor, the successor to Eleutherus, was the bishop, mentioned by Tertullian, who not only recognized the authenticity of the Montanists' prophetic inspiration but also wrote letters in their behalf to the churches in Asia.[5]

[1] Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, i. (Grand Rapids, 1951), 309: Irenaeus is reported to have found, on his visit to Rome in 177, "the Montanist heresy patronized by Eleutherus the Bishop of Rome". See also ii. 3-4, and x. 631. This set of the work revised by A. Cleveland Coxe is hereafter referred to as *ANF*.

[2] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 77.

[3] George La Piana, "The Roman Church at the End of the Second Century," *Harvard Theological Review*, xviii (1925), 246, n. 48.

[4] Ibid. p. 245. La Piana reviews the position of much of modern literature on Montanism, especially Labriolle, *La Crise Montaniste* (Paris, 1913), and Faggiotto, *L'Eresia dei Frigi, Fonti e Frammenti* (Rome, 1924), neither of which was available to the writer. La Piana writes, "That Eleutherus was concerned with the question is undeniable, since to him among others the confessors of Lyons sent their appeal for the peace of the church. But that Eleutherus issued a definite condemnation of Montanism is unlikely. If such had been the case there would have been no need for his successor to pass a new judgment."

[5] Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, i. This work by Tertullian appears in *ANF*, iii. 597-627. See La Piana, op. cit. p. 245, n. 48, for an impressive list of scholars who interpret this to be Victor. See also *ANF*, i. 630, for a similar interpretation. La Piana, p. 247, writes that probably up to that time "Montanism in Rome had not taken an attitude antagonistic to the hierarchy, for it was seeking the latter's approval. One can easily understand the hesitation of Victor on this

It was not until Praxeas came to Rome from Asia, where Montanism had already developed its anti-hierarchical movement and where (unlike Rome) whole communities turned Montanist, that Victor was made to realize the serious consequences of an official recognition of a movement which already in Asia had " developed the practical implications of the prophetic claim, degenerating into a spiritual and ecclesiastical anarchy".[1] Victor therefore withdrew the letters approving Montanism which he had written to the eastern bishops but also held his judgement in suspense. The timely arrival of Praxeas had prevented Victor from making a serious mistake. There is no evidence, however, that Victor ever condemned Montanism.[2]

If, as seems likely, Montanism received a friendly welcome from the time of its arrival in Rome early in the episcopate of Eleutherus (174/5-189) and that his successor Victor (189-98) not only tolerated Montanism but even seemed to encourage it for a time, up to the arrival of Praxeas, then it would be impossible for the Roman Church to create the New Testament in opposition to the " extreme prophetic claims of Montanism " as Goodspeed would have us believe.[3] Even if we should grant the date of 185 which Goodspeed proposes (although 180 is a much more likely time), still the motive he suggests cannot be accepted. The New Testament appeared in Rome before the threat of Montanism was clearly seen in Rome.

account. If the narrative of Tertullian is trustworthy and refers to Victor, this hesitation was at first overcome, and a decision reached in favour of Montanism. This fits well with Victor's policy, which had set out to clear the field of all equivocations and ambiguities. It is possible also that the attitude of the Asiatic bishops who had refused to accept Victor's decision on the celebration of Easter, and from whom he had withdrawn Communion, may have affected Victor's feelings in the matter, since they were exactly the bishops who now condemned Montanism and called upon other bishops in the church to condemn it. On the one hand, the lack of peremptory reasons, either doctrinal or disciplinary, for the condemnation of the Roman Montanists, and on the other, the necessity of establishing a definite policy, together with feelings of irritation against the Asiatic bishops, would fully explain the fact that Victor was brought to recognise the legitimacy of the new prophecy."

[1] La Piana, op. cit. pp. 247-8. See also Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, i. 364.

[2] La Piana, op. cit. p. 250.

[3] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 67.

III

If, as we have decided, the New Testament came into existence as a conscious creation between 170 and 180, then neither of the two usual answers to the problem of *why* it was produced at this time is satisfactory. Another solution to the question is therefore required. There was, during this very period, another movement in the church that was bound to cause all of Christendom much trouble and which was, eventually, to bring about the creation of the New Testament.

Early in the second century there began to appear an ever-growing stream of pseudepigraphical and apocryphal Christian works. As the second century wore on this stream became a veritable flood. The Roman Church itself indulged in the practice of pseudepigraphy—witness the letters of I and II Peter and " Paul's " letters to Timothy and Titus. There arose a whole multitude of other letters, gospels, apocalypses, and acts—each one claiming one or another of the apostles as its author. The Gospel of Peter and the Preaching of Peter both appeared close to the middle of the second century.[1] The Acts of Paul was composed in Asia about 160-70.[2] This practice of pseudepigraphy ran riot in the last two-thirds of the second century, so that as has been pointed out, " so many books have been written in Christian circles about the apostle Peter, or under his name, that one could have collected a whole New Testament of works bearing his name ".[3]

If such a body of literature could be built around Peter so could one also be raised around the other apostles ; and this was exactly what was happening in the last half of the second century. In addition to the works mentioned above, there were also produced before 175 the following writings : The Epistle of Barnabas, The Epistle of the Apostles, The Shepherd of Hermas, The Gospel According to the Egyptians, The Gospel According to the Hebrews, The Traditions of Matthias, and perhaps The

[1] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 37 ; Montague Rhodes James (trans. and ed.), *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1934), *passim*.

[2] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago, 1937), p. 331 ; this work is hereafter cited as *Introduction*.

[3] Ibid. p. 349.

Acts of John, The Gospel of Judas, The Gospel of Thomas and The Gospel of Basilides.[1]

Irenaeus, an invaluable witness of just a few years later, records that the Marcosians not only misinterpreted the real scriptures but that they also " adduce *an unspeakable number* [italics mine] of apocryphal and spurious writings which they themselves have forged, to bewilder the minds of foolish men, and of such as are ignorant of the Scriptures of truth ".[2] What was true of the Marcosians was undoubtedly true also of the other sects of the time. The Valentinians had the Gospel of Truth.[3] The Gnostics produced the Gospel of Eve and also the Gospel of Perfection.[4] As has been said, the stream of apocryphal literature had turned into a veritable flood by the third quarter of the second century.[5]

It is our contention that this mass appearance of apocryphal Christian writings, many of which were projected as a means of furthering heretical doctrines,[6] posed as great, if not greater, a threat to the Christian scripture as Marcionism had several decades earlier and as Montanism was still to do a little later.

[1] James, op. cit. *passim.*

[2] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, I. xiii. 1; this work by Irenaeus appears in *ANF*, vol. I. Irenaeus lists two quotations from their apocryphal writings—one from the Gospel of Thomas and the other from an unknown apocryphal work.

[3] Brooke Foss Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (London, 1896), p. 80. See Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, III. xi. 9, where he says that the Valentinians boast more gospels than there are.

[4] Westcott, op. cit. p. 80.

[5] In addition to these apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and revelations, the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and the harmony of Theophilus may point to another tendency at work in the church at this time. Perhaps there was a movement, only somewhat conscious, to unite, to simplify, to harmonize. Irenaeus' blast against those who do not accept the church's view that the gospels are four in number would include such attempts. He writes that " all who destroy the form of the Gospel are vain, unlearned, and audacious "—*Against Heresies*, III. xi. 9. This tendency, if it ever existed, had not gone very far before the creation of the New Testament which ruled out any further developments along that line.

[6] When writing of Hegesippus, Eusebius records the following: " And in treating of the Apocryphal [books], as they are called, he records that some of them were fabricated by certain heretics in his own time ". See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV. xxii. 9. The edition used is Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* (London, 1927), vol. i; this work was translated by Hugh Jackson Lawlor and John Ernest Leonard Oulton.

The gospels were already viewed somewhat as scripture before the creation of the canon of the New Testament—that is, they were read in the church services and quoted as authorities.[1] The same is true of the Pauline epistles and probably of the few other works which were included in the New Testament when it was consciously formed between the years 170 and 180. As with Athenagoras,[2] the authorities were the prophets, the gospel and the apostle. Although they were all probably used with equal confidence, until the creation of the New Testament it was still in the prophets that, necessarily, the orthodox Christians most definitely recognized inspiration.

The creation of the New Testament was the result of a conscious effort on the part of the Roman Church to protect those writings which that Church held to be apostolic and which were, therefore, being read in its services of worship. The limits of the New Testament were meant to serve as dykes to keep out the flood of secondary literature. The line which (in its conflict with Gnosticism) the Church had drawn sharply between the apostolic and post-apostolic ages was here brought out to measure the literature of the Church. Those writings which could meet the test were accepted and the others were rejected. In this way the creation of the New Testament in the decade ending in 180 resembled what happened nearly a century earlier at Jamnia. The action of the Roman Church merely served to ratify the position which most of the accepted writings had already won for themselves. It was the decision to reject the other Christian literature—the mass of apocryphal acts, epistles, and gospels—which produced the New Testament. The inclusion of a number of "apostolic" writings within the collection, to the exclusion of all others, gave to this corpus the character of a canon. These writings were now the "books of the new covenant".

The New Testament was produced during the episcopate of Eleutherus, probably close to 180, as a means of protecting the

[1] Justin, II Peter, the Martyrs of Scilli, and Athenagoras all witness to this fact.

[2] Athenagoras, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, xviii. This work appears in *ANF*, i. 149-62. See also Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 61.

recognized literature of the Christian church. As Ayer writes,

> The point to be made by the champions of the faith of the great body of Christians was that only those books could be legitimately used in support of Christian doctrine which could claim actual apostolic origin and had been used continuously in the church. As a fact, the books to which they appealed had been in use generation after generation,[1] but the Gnostic works [2] were unknown until a comparatively recent time and were too closely connected with only the founders of a sect to deserve credence. It was a simple literary argument and appeal to tangible evidence. The list of books regarded as authoritative constituted the Canon of Scripture.[3]

Our first two witnesses—the Muratorian Fragment and Irenaeus—to the consciously created New Testament both point to this desire of the formers of the new canon. The Muratorian Fragment itself seems to reflect the very decisions made at the time this creation of the New Testament took place. Rather than being dated at the very end of the second century and assigned to Victor, it should be recognized as belonging to the period between 170 and 180.[4]

The author of the Muratorian Fragment, reflecting the position of the Church at Rome, speaks with authority—" for he feels that all that the Church does or may do in reference to the New Canon is self-evident and requires no defence ".[5] At the same time, however, he still defends and justifies to a degree the Church's acceptance or rejection of certain books. The

[1] The Gospels gradually came to be used in the services of worship during the first half of the second century and about 155-160 the fourfold gospel was introduced into church use. The Pauline corpus, even before it was expanded about 155-160, was probably also employed in the service of worship.

[2] Note Irenaeus' outburst against the *unspeakable number* of books of the Marcosians and also against the Valentinians and the Gnostics.

[3] Joseph Cullen Ayer, *A Source Book for Ancient Church History, from the Apostolic Age to the Close of the Conciliar Period* (New York, 1939), p. 117.

[4] Concerning the possibility of a date as early as 170, see Enslin, op. cit. p. 337, who dates the Muratorian Fragment around A.D. 170. Westcott, op. cit. p. 215 and Caspar René Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (New York, 1907), p. 129, agree with a date of 170. E. Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'église Chrétienne* (Paris, 1911), i. 193, says, while discussing the date of 170 and the opinion of Westcott, " . . . et elle se justifie bien par le caractère des renseignements que donne le fragment sur chacun des livres du Nouveau Testament ". See also John Lawson, *The Biblical Theology of Saint Irenaeus* (London, 1948), p. 41, and Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, i. 85.

[5] Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, p. 106.

letters to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians, both "forged in Paul's name to suit a heresy of Marcion", are excluded.[1] The Fragment ends with a rejection of all the apocryphal works which had caused the New Testament to be created: ". . . of Valentinus, the Arsinote, and his friends, we receive nothing at all, who have also composed a long new book of Psalms, together with Basilides and the Asiatic founder of the Montanists."[2]

The name given by the author of the Fragment to the Book of Acts—"Acts of All the Apostles"—likewise points to the desire of the Church at Rome to exclude "non-apostolic" writings. The primary motive for such a title must have come from the appearance of the apocryphal Acts of John (written before the middle of the second century)[3] and Acts of Paul (composed between 160 and 170).[4] It is questionable whether or not the Acts of Peter had appeared by this time.[5]

There is widespread agreement among New Testament scholars that a second sacred collection would have come into being sooner or later if time alone had been allowed to make the decision. As Harnack has said, the "idea of the New Covenant and the tendency to establish and confirm the idea" would necessarily have called a New Testament into existence.[6] The canonization of these writings meant "little more for most churches than the clear recognition and definition of what

[1] *Muratorian Fragment*, ll. 63-8. See Souter, op. cit. pp. 208-10 for the Latin text and Ayer, op. cit. pp. 118-20 for an English translation.

[2] Ibid. ll. 81-5. The author's purpose is clearly to separate the "apostolic" from the spurious literature.

[3] James, op. cit. pp. xx, 288. Concerning the author of the Acts of John, James (p. xx) writes: "His presentation of the Person of our Lord, and his use of Gnostic terminology, cannot in my mind be reconciled with the view that he was an orthodox Christian."

[4] Ibid. p. 228.

[5] This title may also have stemmed, in part, from the desire to show that Paul received his authority from the Twelve and that he was just one of a group of apostles. If such were the case, then it was an attack upon the Marcionites. It would appear, however, since the impulse which gave rise to the New Testament was the decision to erect a wall between the "apostolic" and the false or pseudonymous writings, that it was the threat of these apocryphal Acts which caused the author of the Muratorian Fragment to introduce the work with this "audacious title", as Harnack calls it in his *Origin of the New Testament*, p. 66.

[6] Ibid. p. 31, n. 1.

already vaguely existed "—for the books which were included in this second canon were, for the most part, not only old but also familiar to the various churches.[1] This fact, however, does not prevent us from recognizing the truth of the statement that " the New Testament as it stands and the history of its development bear traces of the element of compulsion ".[2] It was not created as an act of attack but as a means of defence—protecting the Church against the almost overwhelming flood of apocryphal literature of the last half of the second century. Once created, however, it was invaluable as a weapon against heresy, as is so clearly shown by the use which Irenaeus and other early fathers make of it.

[1] Goodspeed, *Formation*, p. 68.
[2] See Harnack, *Origin of the New Testament*, pp. 31, 96-100.

THE MAKING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT[1]

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It is you who are the Salt of the earth ; but, if the salt should lose its strength, what will you use to restore its saltness ? It is no longer good for anything, but is thrown away, and trampled underfoot.

It is you who are the Light of the world. A town that stands on a hill cannot be hidden. Men do not light a lamp and put it under the corn-measure, but on the lamp-stand, where it gives light to every one in the house. Let your light so shine before the eyes of your fellow-men, that, seeing your good actions, they may praise your Father who is in Heaven.

Do not think that I have come to do away with the Law or the Prophets ; I have not come to do away with them, but to complete them. For I tell you, until the heavens and the earth disappear, not even the smallest letter, nor one stroke of a letter, shall disappear from the Law until all is done.

Matthew v. 13-18. (*The Twentieth Century New Testament.*)

SINCE the publication of the first edition of the King James Bible in 1611, the New Testament has been re-translated, in whole or in part, more than 300 times. During the last fifty years, translation has been especially active and has yielded about 100 different versions, of which 45 include the New Testament or the entire Bible. Each translator has had his special purpose, often reflected in the form of his title. For example :

1895 Ferrar Fenton : *The New Testament in Modern English.*
1897 Robert D. Weekes : *The New Dispensation.*
1899 F. W. Grant : *The Numerical Bible.*
1900 Henry Hayman : *The Epistles of the New Testament . . . in the Popular Idiom.*
1901 James Moffatt : *The Historical New Testament.*
1903 R. F. Weymouth : *The New Testament in Modern Speech, an idiomatic translation into Everyday English.*
1918 E. S. Buchanan : (Lk, Jn, Acts) *An Unjudaized Version* (based on Latin).
1920-34 National Adult School Union : *The Books of the Old Testament in Colloquial English.*

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 8th of December, 1954.

1925-32 Arthur E. Overbury: *The People's New Covenant . . . from the Meta-Physical Standpoint . . . a revision unhampered by so-called ecclesiastical authority.*

1922 Chaplain F. S. Ballentine: *A Plainer Bible for Plain People in Plain American.*

The lineage of the official English Bible is clearly traceable from the King James Version, through the English Revised Version of 1881, the American Standard Version of 1901, to the Revised Standard Version in 1952 in America, whose British counterpart is even now in the making. But less well known is the continual production of private translations which have their day—and, indeed, reflect their day. The best of these private translations have had large effect upon the periodic official translations. *The Twentieth Century New Testament*, in particular, was a pioneer of modern speech versions. It had an important effect upon its generation, and a significant influence upon subsequent versions. If, in addition, its story contains something of romance and mystery, its fascination does not in the least diminish the strategic importance of this version which made its appearance with the new century.

The title-page mentioned no translator by name and, whoever had done the work, he or they have remained unknown until a recent day. A short preface, dignified and restrained, gave no hint of the trials and tribulations through fourteen years of difficult labours. Twenty years ago, perhaps the last survivor of the partners carefully deposited the secretary's records in the John Rylands Library, and these were recently made available through the kindness of the Librarian, Professor Edward Robertson.[1]

It is certain that no translation had ever been undertaken by so unusual a procedure, or by so strange a group of translators, and it will be of interest to inquire in due course as to the quality of the finished work. The earliest record is a letter of 29 September 1891, which refers to beginnings in the previous year,

[1] In 1898, Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed (later famed as a New Testament translator) was a youthful member of the staff of the University of Chicago when he visited England and learned of this translation project. In his subsequent teaching, he was wont to refer to this otherwise obscure story and also mentioned the deposit of the records in 1933. They now form Rylands Eng. MS. 750.

reported only by word of mouth. Mrs. Mary Kingsland Higgs, who lived in Greenacres, Oldham (near Manchester), was the wife of a Congregational minister. She was a leader and teacher of youth, and had four children of her own, and had become disturbed because the young people did not understand the idiom of the traditional Bible. She wrote of her problem to W. T. Stead, the editor of the new *Review of Reviews*, and herself began to prepare an idiomatic translation of the Gospel of Mark. In another corner of England lived a signal and telegraph engineer, Ernest de Mérindol Malan of Newland, Hull, who also had four children. He was the grandson of a noted Swiss Reformed preacher (Dr. Caesar Malan) and followed the custom of reading the Bible to his children. The family was bi-lingual and Malan observed that the modern French version by Lasserre was better understood than was the traditional English Bible. He too wrote to W. T. Stead, of whose Helpers' Association he was a member.

Mr. Stead referred the two correspondents to one another, and they soon began collaboration in translating the Gospel of Mark. As they progressed, they expanded the plan to include the Four Gospels and the Book of Acts. They also sought to enlist additional partners, and in 1891 W. T. Stead printed a notice inviting " co-workers in the task of translating the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into our every-day speech ".[1] It explained the purpose, to place an Englishman " on the same footing as his forefathers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for whom the Authorized and other English versions were printed in the ' vulgar tongue ' "—an objective reminiscent of Wycliffe and Tyndale and Luther. Malan optimistically declared: " If each worker undertook a few chapters and submitted the same to all the other translators . . . the work would soon be done and ere long we may hope to present to all English-speaking working men and women, and children of all classes, a version which they could read without difficulty." It was perhaps well that he could not then know that the task was to require an arduous fourteen-year period, throughout which many physical and mental trials would afflict the group of partners.

[1] *Review of Reviews*, iv (1891), 288, 391, 554; vi (1892), 250; vii (1893), 317.

When the King James Version and the Revised Version were planned, the most prominent Hebrew and Greek scholars in Britain were selected for the work. But in the making of *The Twentieth Century New Testament* the universities had no part and officialdom played no hand. It was a common objective, sought by common men, in the interest of common people.

The first appeal for assistance brought together in 1891 a strange conglomerate of twenty persons. For a long time they collaborated only by correspondence and never met one another. This had one fortunate result, when, in January 1892, Malan requested an autobiographical sketch from each to serve as an introduction to all—fifteen of these sketches are preserved among the papers, thus serving to introduce the translators to us also.[1]

From the first, Malan became the driving force in the project and served as its secretary. He was but 33 at the start, but he carried the heaviest burden in the problems of translating, revising, financing and publishing. Meanwhile, he advanced in his career as an engineer until an appointment in 1895 required him to travel abroad and removed him somewhat from participation. As early as 1892, he fell ill under the double strain, complaining of influenza, brain-fever and over-work, but nevertheless continued in the project with increasing assistance from others. His grandfather was a leader in the Reformed Church in Geneva, but Ernest was educated in England as well as in a Moravian school on Lake Geneva. He was baptized and confirmed in the Church of England. As an adult he was prominent in the Congregational Church in Howden, but later (1890) in Hull joined the Wesleyan Church. He writes of having been influenced by Henry Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, of losing sympathy with creeds and dogmas, and of becoming a teetotaller since 1888. These few facts of his life suggest a distinctive personality, frequently in tension, reaching independent decisions.

Also assuming a vigorous part in the project was Mary Ann Kingsland Higgs, a few years his senior. Her father was a Congregational minister whose last appointment was at Bradford

[1] A picture of each also was requested but all were subsequently returned except that of Malan, which alone is preserved in the file.

(1862-76), as minister of the College Chapel. There he died when the daughter was 22 years old. Two years previously she had become the first woman to receive a science degree at Girton College, Cambridge; then had stayed on as Assistant Lecturer. At 25 (in 1879), she married a Congregational minister, a graduate of the University of London; and together they promoted the building of churches and schools in various parishes. There were four children, and, in addition, youth groups in the churches whom she sought to train. Her health broke when she was 34 years of age, and two years later her husband lost his church. Yet this was the very time that she was translating the Gospel of Mark, and about to undertake the long and difficult task for the New Testament as a whole. Years later, we find her publishing religious tracts, and one in particular in 1910 shows her to be a perceptive pioneer in the early movement of religious education. She was, indeed, a most remarkable woman, and before her death in 1937 had been honoured with the Order of the British Empire.[1]

Let us briefly meet a few others of the more prominent members. The Reverend Henry Bazett described himself as a Huguenot ex-curate, although he had been ordained in the Church of England. As a graduate of Oxford, he had first become a schoolmaster in Wales. He was secretary of the White Cross Army, and a member of the Social Purity League. Only two of his four children still lived. His own health broke and he sought convalescence in America, where his leisure permitted the reading of socialistic books. Upon returning to England he sent a letter of resignation to Bishop Thorold of Rochester, which he also submitted to the Manchester *Guardian* and other papers. For a while he was active in the Women's Trades Union Association, and the Consumers' League. He had since become a Classics Master and private tutor to his young cousins on a farm in Cape Town, and recently published *The People's Version of James' Letter*. His health required him to move back northward and he settled in Southwick near Brighton during the years of his participation in the project.

[1] Hartley Bateson paid high tribute to her in *A Centenary History of Oldham* (1949).

Thomas Sibley Boulton was only 20 years old. He had been educated in Birmingham, the last four years under the Reverend E. F. M. MacCarthy. At 16 he became an accountant. He read Ruskin and Kingsley, and embraced socialism. At the age of 18 his health broke. Subsequently, he became a Master in Music and Language and then returned to college. He abstained from both alcohol and tobacco. He wrote of his desire for " a re-union of Christianity ".

W. M. Copland was a Headmaster who had been educated in Aberdeen where he distinguished himself at the University. For one year he read for Divinity, but after reading Isaac Taylor renounced creeds and dogmas. For thirty years, so he reported, he had rejected the Trinity, the Immortality of the Soul, and a Personal Devil as pagan superstitions contrary to scripture. He was often in poor health. Calling himself " a Radical in Politics and Religion ", he declared that " the Lord Jesus . . . has promised to come back to put matters right. [I] expect this in connection with the present gigantic preparations for war—Russia's designs on the East, etc."

The Reverend Edward Bruce Cornford, 30 years of age, had taken a Cambridge degree in Theology, shifted to the study of Medicine, and travelled abroad. He had worked in the slums of Walworth, and returned to read Theology with the Very Reverend Dean Vaughan, Master of the Temple, and was ordained at Farnham by Bishop Harold Browne. In 1888 he had published a moralistic story in *Our Boys Magazine*.

W. M. Crook was the eldest son of an Irish Wesleyan minister. He stood high in his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, and later was a Master in Classics. At 21 ill health caused a temporary withdrawal. He later became a lecturer for the National Liberal Club and The " 80 " Club, and was a Radical Home Ruler.

The Reverend Peter William Darnton was the son of a manufacturer of musical instruments. He did not attend a university but entered business at 16. Yet he was " bookish " and spent the evenings at the Mutual Improvement Society learning to speak and to write. At 22, he returned to schooling and became a Congregational minister though he begrudged

the time required for sermon-making. A widower with four daughters, his last pastorate was at Bristol where he entertained the Revisers as late as 1903.

The Reverend Edward Deacon Girdlestone was possibly the oldest member, at 63, and a stalwart associate. He and his father were Anglican clergymen. After college and teaching, he was ordained at 23 but two years later decided that this had been a mistake. In a state of indecision he continued intermittently to work and to preach. In his mid-thirties he married a woman of means and soon retired. Later as a widower he re-married at 50, and for a while tutored privately. He claims a number of published articles, mostly socialistic.

The Reverend E. Hampden-Cook was a Congregationalist, a " broad Evangelical ", 32 years old. He once attended Owens College and Lancashire Independent College, but received his degree from Cambridge. His pastorates stretched from New South Wales and New Zealand to London, Wales, and Cheshire. In 1903, he prepared the posthumous Weymouth translation for publication. He reported his belief " in three personal advents of Christ, holding that the second took place in A.D. 70, and that there is a third yet to come, death being meanwhile to the individual the coming of the Lord ".[1]

A. Ingram was a Presbyterian, born in Aberdeen. He listed successive occupations as cowboy, grocer, draper, lawyer's and accountant's clerk, and journalist since 1880. He was a widower with three children.

One of the more prominent associates was the Reverend Henry Charles Leonard, a retired Baptist minister selected by W. T. Stead to serve as treasurer. He was one of the Revisers, and performed the special task of making Synoptic parallels consistent. During the period of his participation, a series of misfortunes included the death of his wife in 1895 after a long illness, the loss of one eye and other " oft infirmities " of long standing.

Finally, let us meet the only other woman among the partners. She was Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Butterworth Mee, who was related to Sir Joseph Butterworth, an emancipationist. Her father was

[1] Schaff-Herzog, *Religious Encyclopedia*, xii. 554.

a woollen manufacturer in Huddersfield, but had lost much of his money. She was educated at the school run by the daughters of the Reverend Daniel Walton. At 29 she married the Wesleyan minister, Josiah Mee, and bore him six children while they worked in numerous circuits. Her health failed at 36, and later she is found to be the President of the Women's Health Association, and occasionally doing Temperance work. She taught a Sunday School class for twenty years. She, and at least one other of the partners, knew no Greek, but they served on the English Committee to review the translation for its proper idiom.

There is not the space here to introduce other members of the group, but these will serve to inform us as to its general composition. After the initial stage of the work, twelve more workers were enlisted but unfortunately their biographies were never requested, perhaps because personal conferences had to some extent replaced correspondence. Altogether, thirty-five persons were associated with the translation, including as advisers three prominent scholars : G. G. Findlay of Headingley College, J. R. Harris of Cambridge, and R. F. Weymouth, retired Headmaster of Mill Hill School.

Certainly this company of translators is no ordinary assemblage, and it is difficult to imagine a more disparate group. The members range in age between 19 and 63. In education they vary widely. They represent all parts of the British Isles. About half of them are clergymen, of which probably none is a typical representative. Others are schoolmasters, business men, and housewives. They belong to the Church of England, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, and one speaks of himself as a Huguenot. Among them, there are many whose records show a procession through successive religious affiliations. Several of the clergymen have experienced repeated doubts as to their calling, and some have forsaken their orders altogether.

It is a company of liberal and independent thinkers, strong-minded, and even opinionated. Their struggle with life—social, political, and intellectual—is reflected in the tensions and ill-health which they report, for hardly a single biography lacks this

element. It was grim realism, in the Articles of Association drafted in 1898, that included a provision : " If any partner shall die, retire, or become lunatic. . . ." As a group, their children are numerous, and domestic problems have created a heavy and constant strain. Among them are many Socialists, some self-styled Radicals, and almost all have engaged in numerous social services toward reform and uplift. They hold in common a sympathy for the mass of workers. A number of them have written articles on social and religious reforms, and some have previously engaged in translating, or at least in re-phrasing, the English New Testament.

Compare such a group with the scholarly and academic group which had produced the English Revised Version only a decade before. It is a non-professional group, whose translating was motivated by social causes and by the desire to mediate the Word of God in a plainer English idiom. A more fascinating company of workers can hardly be imagined, and fascination becomes greater when we see them against the background of their time. They worked during the last decade of the Victorian era which was ablaze with political and social revolution. The Home Rule controversy was at its height, and one member who had been reared in an Irish Wesleyan family openly declared his advocacy of Home Rule. The Socialist movement was everywhere astir, and many of the translators affirmed their sympathy with it. Free education for the poor had but recently been granted, the electorate had been enlarged, and new land regulations were being pressed into law.

In the realm of religion, there were under debate the problems of Church and State, freedom of worship, atheism and the Oath, the observance of the Sabbath, ritualism, and marriage and burial regulations. It was truly an age of social ferment and popular reform. It is not suggested here that *The Twentieth Century New Testament* was designed as a propagandist instrument to apply to such controversies, but in its reverent sincerity it was nevertheless a natural expression of its time. It reflects in its chosen phrases a humanistic and naturalistic approach to religious and social concerns. It has frequently been pointed out that the New Testament documents were originally composed in

colloquial language and for the common people. The last decade of the nineteenth century was such an age as to commit the New Testament once again to the ordinary man, and to provoke the purpose of these translators—all of whom shared the life of the common people—" to present to all English-speaking men and women " a version of the New Testament adapted to their common need and understanding. At the beginning of the project the Secretary wrote of his hope " that the whole work will be undertaken in a prayerful spirit, each worker asking for Divine guidance for both himself and his fellow-workers ".

II

Yet it is not enough to recognize the powerful human forces that surged about and within the group of translators, even as they worked. We must consider certain critical questions concerning the product of their labours. How well conceived were the method and the principles by which they proceeded? How well were they equipped for their task? What were the quality and the influence of the translation they produced?

Malan's second Circular, sent out in December 1891, outlines organization and procedure, though these were considerably altered as the project developed. The plan, in general, now represents standard practice in group translating, and therefore stands as an illustration of how translations are made. Here are the steps:

1. The original twenty collaborators were divided into five groups, each consisting of three to five members; and a Gospel or the Book of Acts was assigned to each group, and a portion thereof allotted to each member. Parenthetically, it may be noted that two years later assignments were similarly made for the Epistles and the Revelation.
2. Each member was to translate his assigned portion, and to circulate instalments to receive the criticism by each member of his group.
3. When all this has been accomplished within the groups, each group is to interchange and criticize the work of the other groups.
4. Then the original translator of a portion shall consider all criticisms, but is free to exercise his own discretion about accepting them.
5. Each group shall choose one of its members as Reviser, who shall be its representative on a Revising Committee to which the resultant draft shall be submitted.

6. Translations are to be circulated among Revisers, and such changes as are approved by two-thirds are to be noted in red ink. (We pause here to note that the Revising Committee was thus composed of five Revisers and therefore no less than four votes would fulfil the two-thirds requirement. A note in 1895, however, refers to six Revisers at that time—which simplified the arithmetic.)
7. Each group Reviser is to criticize the translation prepared by his own group, and to present and defend the same before a meeting of the Revising Committee, where finally a majority would rule. (It is to be noted here that at this stage a three-fifths vote would prevail; whereas in the later stage, a two-thirds vote.)
8. Each translator, having been thus represented, shall abide by the decision of the Revising Committee.
9. An English Committee, selected from the translators, is to review the translation to improve the English idiom.
10. All translations are to be printed on "slip sheets" which will circulate widely for criticism, even outside the company of translators.
11. At a later stage in the project, an effort was made to organize an American Company for collaboration. But it was debated whether American scholars should be invited to criticize the slip-sheet text or a later, tentative publication. Ultimately, nothing came of the proposal and no American participation developed. It should here be recalled that an American Company had been formed to collaborate on the 1881 revision and were even now preparing the American Standard Version which was to make its appearance in 1901.
12. Finally, a full but tentative publication in three parts would allow wider circulation and fuller criticism; from which would derive the definitive publication in one volume.

Surely no group translation was ever prepared with greater precaution or better safeguards against error or private whims. In general, the plan was adhered to, with a few modifications. For example, some members later refused to criticize the translation of another in the group, and therefore instead of circulating a first draft within the group all members were instructed to submit their work to the separate criticisms of Peirson and White. Since this change was not made until January 1895, it affected only the Epistles and the Revelation. Such modifications of the original plan were simply sensible adjustments to developing circumstances. In February 1892, the Secretary began to circulate a "Word-book" which started off with eighty-eight problematic terms (e.g. *εὐαγγέλιον*, *χριστός*, *κύριος*, *δοῦλος*, *μετανοῖα*, etc.), and inviting comment on their proper translation. It contained also questions about the final format. The

"Word-book" was kept in continual circulation among the members, who added answers, comments, and questions as it went round.

Organization and procedure required arrangements for finance. Each translator was to work at his own expense. Subscriptions from the translators would defray the cost of revising, editing, and publishing. The copyright would be held by the entire company, and at one time it was expected that individual subscribers might obtain a profit. It was first estimated that £100-150 would be needed, to put 5,000 copies of the Gospels and Acts on sale at 1*s.* The amount would be divided into £1 shares to be taken up by the translators as far as possible, and then by private subscription. Each subscriber must pay to the Treasurer immediately 2*s.* 6*d.* per share, and each would be liable to the extent of his fully paid-up shares. Because they were strangers to one another, W. T. Stead was to nominate a Treasurer who must bank all funds in the name of the Company and render audited accounts to the subscribers. He selected the Reverend H. C. Leonard, a retired Baptist minister of Isleworth, Middlesex; and Malan and Homer completed the Finance Committee.

It was first stated that any profits would be paid as dividends on the shares. Later it was decided only to reimburse each subscriber, and to use the surplus to finance the translation of the Epistles, to advertise, to distribute some free copies and to make possible a lower selling price. This shift in policy caused the resignation of one member. There were continuing financial difficulties, for after five years of operation it was reported that out of twenty-five members only ten had made any contribution. A year later £100 had been raised but the estimate of need had gone much higher than in 1891. It became necessary to divide the Company into Members and Associates; the Members being those who had contributed at least £1 a year—and only they held votes. But in 1897, W. T. Stead offered to publish the translation in book form, and to pay any profits to the subscribers (who now held a 42-year copyright in England). An American copyright was arranged through Fleming H. Revell Company, and Mr. Leonard's warning against piracy in America lost its

force. By 1901, the tentative edition of the New Testament was on sale at 2*s.* 8*d.*, the three parts having been previously put out separately at 1*s.* 6*d.* Already 40,000 copies of Part 1, the Gospels and Acts, had been sold (17,000 of them in America). By 1901, subscriptions had amounted to £200 but expenses had gone over £300; however, by the end of that year profits totalled well over £300. The final edition appeared in 1904, showing substantial revision of the tentative form. In London, it was published by the Sunday School Union at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the American publisher was Fleming H. Revell. The anonymous Preface was prepared by Girdlestone, who commended the translation, " undertaken as a labour of love, to the good-will of all English-speaking people, and to the blessing of Almighty God ".

The choice of the title had been most carefully considered. In January 1893, the Secretary first requested suggestions. In his Circular (No. 16) of the following September he reported six titles submitted, which he revised into the following choices :

The New Testament in Every-day English.
The New Testament in Modern English.
The New Testament in Current Language.
The New Testament in the English of To-day.

In correspondence, the first two were favoured by equal numbers and the matter was referred to the Revising Committee, with the result that a still different title was adopted :

The New Testament. People's Version.

But four years later the Company approved Girdlestone's proposal of the title :

The Twentieth Century New Testament.

The tentative edition of 1898-1901 embraced the birth of the century; while the final edition celebrates its 50th anniversary this year [i.e. 1954]. Between the two, Weymouth published his *New Testament in Modern Speech* (1903).

When one inquires into the linguistic competence of the translators, he finds little in the record that is helpful. It may safely be assumed that the fourteen clergymen had formal training in the Greek New Testament. Others had certainly

studied Classical Greek and a few were specialists in Classics. Girdlestone especially shows an astonishing perception when he writes in the Preface : " The Greek used by the New Testament writers was not the Classical Greek of some centuries earlier, but the form of the language spoken in their own day." Today this is a commonplace, but Girdlestone's insight anticipated Adolf Deissmann by many years. Grenfell and Hunt were still young scholars, still digging up papyri in Egypt. It was therefore an " advanced " conception as to the nature of the Greek, which enabled these translators to set a precedent for the treatment of the New Testament text.

Nevertheless, the heterogeneous Company presented a problem, which was reflected in the communication of November 1891 : Our task is " to secure on each group sufficient scholarship to ensure, that, while aiming at a good and clear vernacular, the work will bear criticism as a rendering of the Greek text ". It is " not possible to ensure perfection among a body of voluntary and amateur translators ". Five years later it must have been disheartening to report that the first slip-sheet edition of Mark required so much emendation that a second edition had to be printed, and yet Mark had been translated by Mrs. Higgs and Malan (who had collaborated upon it even before the project began), along with the Reverend Mr. Leonard (the retired Baptist minister and Treasurer)—all of whom were recognized leaders in the venture. When later the Epistles were finished, it was necessary to appoint a special committee " to bring about some uniformity ". " The work has been of all qualities," the Secretary wrote, " excellent, flowing modern English, and merely verbal translation." Yet, for all this, when the Gospel of Mark was finished in 1896, Dr. Culross of Bristol exclaimed : " Your Mark is a triumph." When the first edition of Acts was printed, Weymouth pronounced it " admirably done ".

There had been care to include in each of the five groups at least one member with good linguistic ability, who was likely to serve as Reviser. It was also an important factor that a few reputable scholars were allied as advisors, at least briefly. Professor J. Rendell Harris, of Clare College, Cambridge, was briefly associated in 1901, though it is not known what contribution

he made. Professor G. G. Findlay, of Headingley College, Leeds, agreed to revise John during the summer of 1892, having recently begun to publish a literal translation entitled " John's Good News ". But he resigned that fall and it is not known whether or not he fulfilled his promise. R. F. Weymouth had published the *Resultant Greek Text* in 1886, when he retired as Headmaster at the Mill Hill School. Since then he had been engaged in translating the New Testament alone, and from 1895 to 1897 was allied also with the group project. In his Preface it is stated that while " full co-operation . . . has not been found practicable . . . there has been in certain parts free communication and interchange of manuscript " ; and he graciously adds, " Which party is the more indebted it is difficult to say ". When he resigned in 1897, it was attested by the Secretary that " he has rendered us valuable help ". The tentative edition preceded that of Weymouth, which appeared posthumously in 1903 under the editorship of one of the partners, Hampden-Cook. But the final edition of 1904 benefited directly from the Weymouth version.

The greatest advantage to *The Twentieth Century New Testament* was the choice of a Greek text to translate. In 1891, the first instructions were to " use any Greek text, but as a general rule that underlying the English Revised Version ".[1] But in the same year that this version appeared, Westcott and Hort published a new critical Greek text. It was perhaps T. W. Whitall who urged the use of Westcott-Hort, for late in 1891 he had supplied copies to all the translators, and thus in one stroke made a most significant contribution—for Westcott-Hort was the best critical text that had yet appeared. The Secretary further directed that Bishop Westcott was " to be consulted if punctuation or sense is changed by a translator ".

The ultimate translation was true to the stated principle: " to grasp the sense of the original Greek " and to express it in modern English, " not departing from the original more than is absolutely necessary in order to bring it more into harmony with the English idiom ". The values of coins, and measures of space and time were turned into their English equivalents. The

[1] This text had been edited by Palmer, and was printed the same year as the English Revised Version (1881).

translators were urged to use Saxon words, and to be consistent in translating the same Greek word everywhere. The problem of Gospel parallels was committed to the special attention of H. C. Leonard, with the objective of exhibiting the true relationship between the Gospels.

The Company agreed to use the modern " you " instead of the antiquated " thou ", exception being made in prayers, in the speech of God, and in quotations from the Old Testament. A modern format was achieved by arranging the text in a single column, and in paragraphs, while relegating chapter and verse numbers to the margin. Modern English punctuation was adopted, including quotation marks. Paragraph titles were inserted to aid the reader, and Old Testament references were given in the bottom margin. Poetry was printed in its proper form, and Old Testament quotations were clearly set off from the main text " to enable the reader to see how familiar the writers were with the very words and phrases of the Septuagint ". It was originally planned to print short explanatory notes, but Leonard early opposed this and his view prevailed.

Each book has a brief introduction. The order of the books is influenced by chronological considerations. Leonard had proposed in 1892 that the order of Westcott-Hort should be followed: and the final edition uses this order, with some modification.[1] The four Gospels stand first, but Mark is at the head—reflecting the recent theory of Markan priority in time.[2] After Acts, comes the Epistle of James (as in Westcott-Hort) but it is separated from the other General Epistles which because of their late date are placed after the Pauline Letters. The Letters of Paul are arranged according to the current theory of their chronological sequence. After all the genuine letters come the Pastorals in a neutral position, followed by the " anonymous " Letter to the Hebrews, and then the rest of the General Epistles (in the order: Peter, Jude, John). The Revelation of John comes last without regard to its earlier dating.

[1] The order in Westcott-Hort, following early manuscripts, is: Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Revelation.

[2] The proposal of Carl Lachmann (1835) that Mark was the earliest of the Gospels is virtually universal in acceptance today.

III

Now, if " the proof of the pudding is in the eating " it would be well for us to sample a few passages from the 1904 *Twentieth Century New Testament* (in the order found there). Section A contains " The Historical Books "—the four Gospels and the Book of Acts—with Mark standing first.

Mark i. 4 (KJ and ERV) states that John " preached the baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins ". This literal translation of the Greek does not yield a clear sense, and the 1904 edition strives for greater clarity : " . . . proclaiming a baptism upon repentance, for the forgiveness of sins ". This revision illustrates at once both loss and gain. For in the first clause a theological refinement intrudes, in the interpretation that repentance must be anterior to, or is a prerequisite of, baptism ; whereas the Greek phrase has a simple genitive whose meaning is left undefined. But in the second clause, a valid improvement is recognized in the phrase, " for the forgiveness of sins ". These judgements against and in favour of the 1904 translation are reflected decades later in the American Revised Standard Version (RSV) of 1946 : " preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." Here the second clause follows exactly the translation of 1904.

In Mark iv. 19 there is the allegory of the seed sown among the thorns (KJ and ERV) " . . . the cares of the world and the deceitfulness of riches . . . choke the word ". The 1904 translation runs : " . . . the cares of life, and the glamour of wealth . . . completely choke the Message." The change from " the cares of the world " to " the cares of life " is the result of emending the Westcott-Hort text at this point, in unwisely accepting *βίου* (observed then in Bezae and the Old Latin) in place of *αἰῶνος* which has much better support. But the next phrase, " the glamour of wealth ", was well inspired as it corrected the interpretation of *ἀπάτη*. This general sense persists in subsequent translations such as Goodspeed's (1923) " the pleasure of being rich ", and the RSV's (1946) " the delight in riches ". However, when the 1904 edition inserted the word " completely " it was done gratuitously, for nothing in the Greek

text suggests it other than the result of fruitlessness. So once again it may be observed that judgement upon this verse is mixed, for and against, and is set off by the 1946 RSV: "the cares of the world and the delight in riches . . . choke the word."

In Mark x. 42 Christian humility is contrasted with the rulers of gentiles who (KJ and ERV) "lord it over them and their great ones exercise authority over them". Originally these two clauses said the same thing, but today the phrase "to lord it over" has come to imply arrogance and oppression. This implication must have been present in the 1904 translation, because the second clause is made to accord with it: "lord it over them . . . and their great men oppress them". But this translation is misleading since neither of the clauses in Greek necessarily refer to oppression but only to the gentile conception of the dominant ruler in contrast with the idea of eminence through humble service. The intrusion of the reference to oppression may well be one evidence of the influence upon the translators of the social tension and protest of their day.

Another sample is taken from the story of the woman anointing Jesus' head. In Mark xiv. 6 the ERV retains a stiff and literal translation: "She hath wrought a good work on me." How much better is the style and sense of the 1904 translation: "This is a beautiful deed she has done for me!" As recently as 1946 the RSV followed this lead, finding it necessary to make one slight revision: "She has done a beautiful thing to me."

Once again, we may sample at Mark xv. 2 where the question is asked, "Are you the King of the Jews?" And the answer (KJ and ERV): "Thou sayest." The debate over this obscure answer has been long and varied. For example, Westcott-Hort first suggested that the original Greek sentence may have been either declarative or interrogative. If it be taken as a question, it may remind us of the parrying between Pilate and Jesus in John xviii. 33-4: "Are you the King of the Jews?" "Do you raise this question yourself, or have others said this to you about me?" But if—more plausibly—the Markan phrase is declarative, it may remind us of the similar response in Matt. xxvi. 25 where Jesus has referred to his betrayer and Judas asks, "It is not I, is it?" and Jesus replies (literally): "You have said."

There is no question here that Jesus is confirming this identification and the 1904 version translates acceptably, " 'It is', answered Jesus ". So in Mark xv. 2 the version translates the same Greek idiom in the same way : " It is true." So translated, it amounts to an important affirmation on the part of Jesus before Pilate that he is the anointed leader of the Jews. But perhaps the evangelist was more subtle than this and intended that his idiom should be ambiguous. In this case, the wiser part is to translate ambiguously as does the RSV : " You have said so ", and the 1904 version may be said to have gone too far with its theological interpretation.

Now turning to the Gospel of Matthew, it is of interest to observe the beatitude in v. 5, " Blessed are the meek ". Here the 1904 version renders it : " Blessed are the gentle." This does not make easier the acceptance of an erroneous interpretation, that the gentle shall inherit the possessions of earth. It does, however, avoid the misunderstanding that arises from the popular caricature of meekness, and may therefore be applauded.

Another important revision is found in Matt. vi. 4, 6, 18, where the KJ translates that God " will reward thee openly " for your religious actions " in secret ". The 1904 edition translates : " Your Father who sees what is in secret, will recompense you." The reward may be no more ostentatious than the secret deed. This difference from the KJ rests upon the Greek text, since Westcott-Hort follows ancient manuscripts which omit the phrase, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. The ERV in 1881 had already acknowledged this correction in the text, and Weymouth in 1903 also agreed to it as did the RSV in 1946.

Matt. x. 8 offers an interesting sample, in the familiar phrase (KJ and ERV) : " Freely ye received, freely give." The adverbial term here translated does not mean, as the English may, generously or abundantly. The 1904 translators were quite correct in their version : " You have received free of cost, give free of cost ", and we find the recent RSV in agreement : " You have received without pay, give without pay."

Once more in Matthew (xxvi. 27), there is the ritualized direction (KJ and ERV) : " Drink ye all of it." This is ambiguous without punctuation and many have mentally punctuated

it as " Drink ye, all of it." But the 1904 edition is clear, and correct, when it renders the equally clear Greek : " Drink from it, all of you."

There is a difficult point in Luke xxii. 38, where the disciples at their Passover meal say to Jesus, " Lord, behold, here are two swords ". Jesus replies (KJ and ERV) : " It is enough." Many find it difficult to believe that the evangelist reported Jesus as commending the sword, and so the 1904 version translates his answer in one word of indignant remonstrance : " Enough ! " But a few lines earlier it was Jesus himself who reportedly advised to sell one's cloak in order to buy a sword. However great the theological or moral difficulty may be, the obvious text means " Two swords are enough ", and the 1904 edition has interpolated an inconsistent sense.

In 1904, it was a bold stroke to correct John i. 5 (KJ) : " And the darkness comprehendeth it not ", obscure though this traditional phrase was. The ERV had not helped at all when it altered this to " apprehended it not ". It was a radical departure when the 1904 translation rendered the sentence : " And the darkness never overpowered it." This sense was both clear and correct and has been followed in many later translations as in the RSV : " And the darkness has not overcome it."

Another passage well clarified was the obscure verse of Acts v. 24. When the imprisoned apostles mysteriously disappeared, the leaders (KJ) " doubted of them whereunto this would grow ". The ERV did no better with this verse, but the 1904 edition made sense of it, as follows : " They were perplexed about the Apostles and as to what all this would lead to." All important translations since have resembled this phrasing.

In Acts xxii. 22, in the course of Paul's defence, an interruption occurs when Paul speaks of his gentile mission. The KJ and ERV explain, " They gave him audience unto this word ". The English here is at best ambiguous but seems to say merely that they gave attention to his remarks. But the 1904 edition renders clearly what is also clear in the Greek : " Up to this point the people had been listening to Paul." This idea is essential to the story and is reflected in later translations, as when the RSV renders : " Up to this word they listened to him."

It is at the end of Paul's defence before Agrippa, in Acts xxvi. 28, that the latter remarks (KJ): "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." The ERV introduces a variant note: "With little persuasion thou wouldst fain make me a Christian." But both are rejected when the 1904 edition translates: "You are soon trying to make a Christian of me." The American Committee in 1881 had urged that the phrase be translated: "In a short time . . .", and the same sense was properly adopted in 1904. It is again reflected in the approval of the RSV: "In a short time you think to make me a Christian."

IV

Section B of *The Twentieth Century New Testament* is composed of "The Letters" and this includes both Pauline and General Epistles, arranged in a chronological sequence acceptable to the translators.

The first sample here may be noted in 1 Thessalonians ii. 6, where Paul writes (KJ and ERV): "We might have been burdensome as apostles of Christ." This obscure passage gives way to clarity in the 1904 edition: "We might have burdened you with our support." However, the improvement here is only partial as it points the way toward the complete sense of the passage well expressed in the RSV: "We might have made demands as apostles."

Again, in 1 Corinthians iii. 9 Paul explains his status and relationship by a simile: "We are God's fellow-workers. Ye are God's husbandry." But the KJ and ERV have altered the simile found in the original Greek and this is restored by the 1904 translation: "You are God's harvest field." Goodspeed has followed this closely ("You are God's farm") and the RSV almost exactly: "You are God's field."

Another statement of Paul in 1 Corinthians x. 24 is indeed perplexing when he exhorts (KJ): "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." The ERV saw the need to correct this to ". . . but each his neighbour's good." But the 1904 edition really established the form for this verse: "A man must not study his own interests, but the interests of others."

This pioneer phrasing has since been followed closely by all the best translations.

In the Hymn of Love in 1 Corinthians xiii, the 1904 edition again pioneered when it translated ἀγάπη as "love" rather than the traditional "charity". Here again it has been followed in all Protestant translations since. In this same chapter there occurs Paul's familiar remark (KJ and ERV): "If I give my body to be burned. . . ." The 1904 edition was the first English version to translate instead the Westcott-Hort text at this point: "Even though I sacrifice my body, that I may boast. . . ." This reading was later approved by Goodspeed, but the RSV translators stood by the traditional text.

Turning next to the Roman letter, we read that Paul had planned to visit Rome. Then follows in i. 13 the obsolete phrase: ". . . but was let hitherto." The ERV properly changed "let" to "hindered", but it was the 1904 edition that first gave a fresh and satisfactory phrasing to the sentence: ". . . until now I have been prevented", and others since have followed this exemplary form.

Also in Romans (viii. 28), the KJ and ERV report Paul's words: "All things work together for good, to them that love God". An important difference is noted in the 1904 edition: "God causes all things to work together for the good of those who love him." The change is derived from the Westcott-Hort text and has been accepted in subsequent translations.

In Philippians iii. 20 we read (KJ): "Our conversation is in heaven." This obsolete and inaccurate translation was improved in the ERV: "Our citizenship is in heaven." But again it was the 1904 edition which first presented a fully satisfactory phrasing: "The State of which we are citizens is in heaven." The contemporary Weymouth version (1903) has a similar expression: "We are free citizens of heaven." But a much closer similarity is found in the RSV (which follows Goodspeed): "Our commonwealth is in heaven."

Many have been confused by Paul's advice in Philippians iv. 6 (KJ): "Be careful for nothing." This may appear to commend improvidence and indifference toward the future. But a more acceptable sense is derived from the 1904 edition:

" Do not be anxious about anything." The RSV acknowledges the excellence of the phrasing, by revising only slightly : " Have no anxiety about anything."

An illustration of improvement may be noted in Hebrews xi. 40 where the KJ and ERV read : " . . . God having provided some better thing concerning us." The 1904 edition made two important changes in this clause : " Since God had in view some better thing for us." These changes have since been acknowledged as valid corrections and the recent RSV accepts both : " Since God had foreseen something better for us."

Another illustration may be found in xiii. 16 (KJ and ERV) : " To do good and to communicate forget not." The word " communicate " (like the word " provide ", above) is a borrowing from the Latin Vulgate, rather than an adequate translation of the original Greek term. Although it may have conveyed the true sense in the sixteenth century, the twentieth century required the correction which the 1904 edition made : " To do good and to share what you have." Exactly the same phrase is preserved in the recent RSV.

A final sample is taken from 1 John iv. 19 (KJ) : " We love [him] because he first loved us." Although the KJ acknowledged that the pronoun " him " is not found in the Greek text, it supplied it as essential to the proper meaning. However, the revisers in 1881 exscinded this addition and *The Twentieth Century* version concurred, as did all other subsequent translations. Far from requiring the insertion of the pronoun, the declaration contains a nobler sense in the literal form of the 1904 edition : " We love because he first loved us."

These are but a few selections of the innumerable changes which the *Twentieth Century* translators brought to the English version of the New Testament. They were a reverent, but a bold and zealous company who dared to give a fresh phrasing to the English translation. They made many corrections and created many phrases which have been adopted by translators of great learning. One of these translators recognized their pioneer achievement when (in 1937) he wrote : " The 20th Century was the first of the many modern speech translations which have given us back the coherent readability of the New Testament."

When we read *The Twentieth Century New Testament* in its definitive form, it is difficult to remember that it was produced by so strange a company as we have met. Somewhere along the line, some transforming miracle seems to have occurred. We are forced to conclude that the devotion to their task has made of them better scholars than they were at first. It is to their credit that they were always responsive to suggested revision, even to the last. Still, it is amazing to find that the finest scholars of later years paid tribute to their work by adopting many of the same phrases and perceptive insights. Much of what we may say in praise of this version of 1904 may sound commonplace today, but under the conditions of half a century ago it was extraordinary. It shares with Weymouth's New Testament the honour of inaugurating the truly modern-speech versions. Though it no longer remains in print, and is difficult to secure, its virtues have been preserved in the editions of reputable successors. It holds an honoured place in the procession of versions; and the hope of the Company of translators, as expressed in the Preface, has been amply fulfilled: "... that, by this modern translation, the New Testament may become a living reality to many, by whom the Authorized Version, with all its acknowledged beauties, is but imperfectly understood or never read."

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC CULTURE ON MEDIEVAL EUROPE [1]

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THE professor of Arabic who writes or speaks about medieval Europe is certain to invite the warning *ne sutor supra crepidam*. But it is a wholesome, if often chastening, discipline for the specialist to wander occasionally far enough from home to obtain a fresh perspective of the landscape which bounds his daily labours. At least he himself should learn something from his adventure. The present subject is not, in any case, an exploration of new country, but rather an excursion into a territory whose fields and landmarks have been frequently, though sometimes capriciously, charted. The equivalent of the Ordnance Survey is that storehouse of facts, *The Legacy of Islam*, by now a little dated (it was published in 1931), but still fascinating to read in parts, and full of good guidance. No doubt some of its landmarks and dimensions are a little dubious, but most of those who contributed to it were experts who had thoroughly explored their particular regions, whether of the arts, or law, or medicine, or mathematics, or music.

It is, of course, impossible for a layman to attempt to cover more than a fraction of this ground. What I hope to do is to suggest some general principles and conclusions, within which the individual facts may find their proper place and interpretation. There is, in addition, one important field which I must leave aside altogether on this occasion, although I suspect that the same general principles apply to it also—namely, the whole range of economic and commercial contacts and the possible transference through these of agricultural, seafaring, or commercial techniques. The many Arabic terms relating to these activities which have passed into the languages of western Europe

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 9th of March 1955.

are suggestive (even excessively so for some lively imaginations), but the subject is too complicated for anyone but a trained economic historian to handle.

In limiting myself, therefore, to the intellectual aspects of Islamic culture, it may be useful to begin by defining the term a little more closely. The starting-point of this investigation is that complex of cultural achievements which found its literary expression in the Arabic language, and which is often called "Arab culture". I am not concerned here with the argument about the relative contributions of the Arabs and other racial stocks to this culture; much of this argument seems to me to be, in any case, conducted with a remarkable disregard for elementary sociological facts. The medieval Islamic culture was a collective achievement, and not only of Arabs and Persians, but also of Copts, Aramaeans, Jews, Byzantines, Turks, Berbers, Spaniards, and not even excluding contributions from Africans and Indians. But there were two factors which gave it its unity and cohesion: one was the religion of Islam, the other the Arabic language. The language furnished the instrument of intercommunication between its widely separated regions, and the influence or contribution of Islam cannot be dissociated at any point from the whole complex of cultural activities. Islam supplied the external principle of organization, which facilitated the spread of Arabic culture in space, in the sense that wherever Islam established itself this culture was introduced along with it, and maintained in time by the cultural cohesion of all the regions of Islamic obedience. It was due to Islam that Arabic Spain continued to share all the elements of Islamic culture which were developed later in the east, and as the limits of Islam shrank, the elements of Arabic culture which survived the *reconquista* were torn out of their former matrix and gradually merged into the culture of Christian Spain.

Secondly, Islam served as an internal principle of order, which set (or was regarded as setting) a scale of values, and constituted a central core of spiritual and psychological energy round which all other cultural activities revolved as satellites. It is self-evident that not all the cultural activities in Arabic-Islamic civilization owed their origin or their energy to Islam—

for example, Arabic poetry (which reached one of its climaxes in pre-Islamic Arabia), or medicine and the natural sciences (which came from older civilizations), but all of these were in varying degrees attracted into the gravitational field of Islam, and affected by their interactions with the other constituent elements of the medieval Muslim civilization. The fact is obvious in the later development of Arabic poetry; and Arabic medicine, for example, had to operate within the limits of the ban placed by Islam on the dissection of human bodies.

Outside the area of Arabic-Islamic culture, the Islamic principles of organization and order were clearly irrelevant. Whether the cultural activities which will concern us owed their origin to Islam or by attraction into the energy-field of Islam acquired particular features and characteristics is, though not totally immaterial, of minor importance for us at this point; consequently the term " Islamic Culture " must, for our purposes, be quite properly interpreted in the wider sense of the whole complex of related institutions and products which constitute the medieval Arabic culture, particularly in the Mediterranean area.

It cannot be too often pointed out that in studying the development of a given activity in a given society, the extent to which it draws on new materials from outside and the way in which it modifies or adapts them are problems of great difficulty and complexity. Mere parallelism of expression or production proves nothing, especially when two cultures draw from the same roots. This warning is particularly needed in handling our present subject, since the field is already cluttered with extravagant statements and generalizations made in the past (and still being made all too often), which rest on nothing more than fortuitous resemblances and parallel constructions from common roots. We all know the ingenious efforts of amateur linguists to prove the relationship of two distant languages by casual assonances and the assumption (or neglect) of sound-changes which would make Grimm turn in his grave. One of the most fantastic examples of the same kind of reasoning is the belief firmly held in some modern Arab circles that Dante's *Divine Comedy* was imitated from or at least greatly influenced by a kind

of celestial fantasy called the *Epistle of Pardon*, written in 1033 by the famous Arab poet Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. But not a shred of evidence has ever been produced that Abu'l-'Alā's *Epistle* was translated into any western language in the Middle Ages, or even that any part of its content entered into any Arabic work which was translated and might by chance have come to the knowledge of Dante. Whether certain other elements from Arabic literature may have reached Dante is quite another question.

It is, however, true, and probably a universal phenomenon, that when, for any reason, some particular body of ideas, or technique, or theory has begun to attract men's interest, they will readily take advantage of all other sources which may be available to them for developing this particular activity. It seems to me to be in these circumstances almost exclusively that the factor of " influence " by other cultures arises. I should go so far as to say that it is rarely, if ever, that any element from a foreign culture is introduced or taken over as an entirely *new* constituent in the receiving culture. We may almost formulate it as our " First Law ", therefore, that cultural influences (by which I mean, of course, not purely superficial adjuncts, but genuinely assimilated elements) are always preceded by an already existing activity in the related fields, and that it is this existing activity which creates the factor of attraction without which no creative assimilation can take place.

One of the most striking examples is offered by the instance which at first sight seems to contradict this " law "—I mean the movement of translation of Greek philosophical and scientific works into Arabic in the eighth and ninth centuries. There was nothing in the primitive Arab tradition or in the Koran, as originally understood, to account for this apparently sudden development. But the Muslim Community, in the process of expanding, absorbed large bodies of peoples whose cultural traditions were Hellenistic, and this led in time to a conflict *within* the Muslim Community between Hellenistic traditions and the primitive formulations of Islamic concepts, so that Muslim religious circles found themselves confronted by the intellectual problems raised by Greek philosophy. One of the

chief functions of the schools of translators who rendered the Greek texts into Arabic was to furnish the corpus of materials required to clarify the issues and lead to a solution of the conflict. These materials were logical and philosophical (which included, in accordance with the Aristotelian tradition, natural science)—to which medicine was added, for parallel but practical reasons.

This kind of give-and-take has characterized all living societies in historic times. Not only have all cultures expanded by developing their own resources with the assistance of elements derived from other cultures, but when they cease to do so—when their peoples begin to regard their cultural achievements as self-sufficient and to imagine that they have nothing to learn from outside—then decline and stagnation set in. It is arguable, I think, that our modern western culture is already in considerable danger of stagnation, in spite of our expanding scientific techniques, because nothing or not enough is coming in to stimulate its inner growth.

In the conflict of cultures, then, it is more blessed to receive than to give ; and the real quality of any civilization is shown less perhaps by its indigenous products than by the way in which it constantly grafts new shoots on to its own trunk, to stimulate further growth and to achieve richer and more differentiated products. But there must clearly be some limit or limits to this process. Every culture is a living organism, which derives its nourishment from specific roots. It does not matter very much for our present purpose how these roots are defined ; one definition which seems to me adequate, and will at any rate do well enough for the moment, selects three factors as basic : its appreciation of art, its rationality (or the liberty it allows to the pursuit of thought), and its religion (or conception of the relation of man to the universe), and adds as a fourth factor the common social tradition which binds all these together. If any one of these factors is radically changed, the whole complex of culture is affected, and a new culture is created, which is quite different from the older culture. This then would seem to supply us with two further " laws ", which may define the limits of cultural borrowing. Firstly, the borrowed elements conduce to the expanding vitality of the borrowing culture only in so far as they

draw their nourishment from the activities which led to their borrowing in the first place. If they develop so luxuriantly as to substitute themselves, or threaten to substitute themselves, for the native spiritual forces, they become destructive, and not constructive, elements. The graft (to return to our metaphor) must not replace the original living branches. In historical terms, this means that a living culture allows the borrowed elements to develop to the extent that they are adaptable to and blend with its native forces, but resists with all its power their over-luxuriant growth. Thus the Arabic-Islamic culture, once the grafts from Greek philosophy had attained their original purpose, deliberately stabilized them at that stage of growth, and set itself to cut back all the other shoots which seemed to be developing independently and to disturb its now established constitution and balance.

The second new " law ", or third of our three " laws ", is that a living culture disregards or rejects all elements in other cultures which conflict with its own fundamental values, emotional attitudes, or aesthetic criteria. Attempts may be made to graft them, but the grafts do not " take " and simply die off. So the Arabic culture rejected all Greek poetry and drama (which conflicted with its appreciation of art) and Indian philosophy (which conflicted with its concepts of the relation of man to God), although it was on the other hand positively affected by Indian mysticism, which found a congenial host in the mystical tendencies already developed within the Islamic Community.

If I have insisted on formulating these so-called " laws ", it is mainly because it seems to me essential to avoid a common source of loose thinking and error in this field—namely, the conception of knowledge as lumps of inert matter passed from hand to hand. The basic factor is psychological; and even if we grant the metaphor of a statement of fact or a theory as a lump of matter, the important question is what happens to it at the receiving end; and that depends on the kind of mind by which it is received. The most striking example of static reasoning is the extravagant assertion, made not only by irresponsible publicists but even by men who should have better knowledge and judgement, that the western Renaissance of the fifteenth

century was largely due to the materials transmitted to Europe by the Arabic-Islamic civilization. This assertion involves a complete misunderstanding of what is implied by the Renaissance: a moral, even more than intellectual, crisis, which created a sense of total break with the past—a sudden increase of intensity and vigour in all fields of activity, accompanied by a new desire for self-expression—a rejection of old claims and standards, and the adoption of secularism in politics and economic life. These are all *psychological* facts, and without these psychological conditions there could have been no Renaissance. Knowledge—yes; but not the simple acceptance of a received body of knowledge. Where the "official" mind files its lumps of knowledge neatly in pigeonholes, where the "orderly" academic mind tries to integrate them with other lumps, the "renaissance" type of mind pokes and probes them, delighted with nothing so much as discovering how to blow them to pieces. With such an approach every "fact" becomes an adventure of ideas or an invitation to adventure.

But while the Renaissance mind, bursting out of the bounds of existing structures of knowledge, sought for new experience of every kind, it did nevertheless start from the body of knowledge and with the techniques formed and cultivated for some two or three centuries previously. In the field of the natural sciences, at least, this existing body of knowledge not only supplied materials for the inquisitive and experimental minds of the Renaissance, but must evidently have been informed with something of the same spirit as that which came to full consummation at the Renaissance. The real problem for investigation, therefore, is not what the Renaissance may owe to Arabic-Islamic culture, but in what directions and to what extent materials derived from the Islamic culture contributed to the intellectual revival of the period extending from 1050 to 1300 or so, sometimes called the "Little Renaissance".

Here, of course, there has never been any dispute as to the fact of the translation and circulation on an extensive scale of both Greek works previously translated into Arabic and original works written in Arabic. The translated works are there, in large numbers; and the medieval scholars make no secret of their

regular consultation of these works, and sometimes of their fervent admiration for those Arabic writers who, by composition or commentary, had enriched the subjects of their studies. For in those centuries, when Europe was slowly rebuilding its cultural life under the aegis of the Christian Church, not only were its psychological conditions entirely different from those of the Renaissance, but in both intellectual attitudes and assumptions it stood much closer to the Muslim world. Both cultures were characterized by the same primacy of faith, which provided a defined and finite universe and allotted to reason a certain function and range of activity ; and faith and reason alike in both sprang from the same roots. Both laid the same emphasis on continuity, prizing and clinging to the heritage of the past as the surest guide, and envisaged no future different from the past, except for the millennial aspirations cherished in both. These conditions supplied an almost ideal opportunity for fruitful interaction or penetration, in which elements from the one could stimulate the other by assimilation. Islam in India, during the same centuries, offers a complete and striking contrast : a situation in which, save in the one field of mysticism, there was no point at which the two cultures touched at all.

Nevertheless, the opportunity of interaction, the possibility of interchange, does not imply its actuality ; and before any assertions can be made, every case must be studied in the light of its own circumstances, techniques, and instruments of transference. In some forms of cultural activity this investigation is a fairly simple and straightforward one. The clearest case of all is medicine, in which the great names of the Middle Ages are all those of Arabic writers, superimposed to some extent on Galen : Mesue (Māsawaih), Rhazes (ar-Rāzī), Haly Abbas (ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās), Abulcasis (Abu'l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī), Rodoham (ʿAlī b. Ridwān), and above all Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), whose authority may be said to have remained unchallenged until the time of Vesalius and Paracelsus. So also in mathematics and in the crafts—metal inlays, lustred pottery, enamelled glass, ivory carving, weaving and papermaking—the range of influences from the Mediterranean world are clearly demonstrable, even where they are combined with indigenous traditions and

techniques. And in the case of paper—itself an importation into the Arab world from China—the ultimate cultural effects have, of course, been incalculable.

But the position is entirely different when we come to the three most important fields, those of natural science, philosophy, and literature—the three fields which impinge most closely on what we have defined as the three basic differentials of a given culture: its rationality, its religion, and its appreciation of art. Here there is no such simple and direct relationship between the Islamic and the evolving European culture, and the reason is clear: that since these activities were concerned with ideas and aesthetic expression, they could not be effectively taken into European culture in their Islamic contexts, but had to be adapted in some way to the intellectual and aesthetic attitudes of the recipients.

This principle might not seem, at first sight, to apply to natural science, which stands for us on much the same footing as medicine and mathematics. But natural science in the Islamic world was a Hellenistic importation, and shared the predominantly speculative character of its sources. It was a system of demonstrated proofs from given axioms or postulates, erected by Aristotle into one of the three branches of philosophy, and almost inseparable from the Aristotelian universe. This is not to say that the Greeks had no experimental science; still less, that the Arabs had no experimental science. Not only were there Arabic scientists who showed great ingenuity in the practical application of scientific theory and the improvement of scientific instruments, but their works were eagerly sought after in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nevertheless, these scientists (I am excluding physicians in this context) operated on the margins of Islamic society; empirical science scarcely, if ever, entered into its educational structure, and much experimental work was bound up with astrology and alchemy (though I think Mr. Christopher Dawson goes too far in identifying Arabic science as a whole with magic).[1] In both principle and method Arabic science remained throughout within the framework of the Aristotelian system.

[1] In *Mediaeval Essays* (London and New York, 1953), p. 159.

In Europe, on the other hand, the attitude to natural science was from the first conditioned by a practical approach. The whole problem seems to me to have been immensely clarified by Dr. A. C. Crombie in his solid study of Robert Grosseteste.[1] After summarizing the technical inventions in western society between the ninth and twelfth centuries, he makes the pertinent observation that the earliest western interest in Arabic learning was directed to the acquisition of practical knowledge, and that a large proportion of the earliest translations were of works on mathematical subjects, medicine and chemistry. Furthermore, the technical arts began to be included in higher education as early as the twelfth century, when already some of the leading scholars were beginning to conceive of the study of " natural causes " as an interest in itself. Crombie has made it clear that the subsequent eagerness to study the natural science of the Greeks and their Arabic commentators was due to the need to relate the old-established western empiricism in the practical arts to the concept of rational explanation. It was out of this confrontation that there arose a new methodology, which utilized *inter alia* the observations of the Arabic physicians, but which independently laid the foundations of modern science by replacing the metaphysical question " Why things happen " with the scientific question " How things happen ".

I should be straying too far from my last to pursue this topic any further, in spite of the temptations offered by the strange figure of Roger Bacon, which has also recently been elucidated afresh by Stewart Easton.[2] Enough has been said to bring out the point that, while western scholars undoubtedly read and utilized such genuinely scientific works as the optics of Alhazen (al-Haitham), their acquisitions from these sources were from the first integrated into a distinctive and developing native system of experiment and thought. Its actual progress was due neither to taking over an inert body of knowledge nor to bare experimentation, but to the rise of new concepts of scholarship, linked with the development of new craft techniques and the interplay between ideas and techniques, all of which issued in a new kind of scientific thinking.

[1] Oxford, 1953. [2] Oxford (Blackwell), 1952.

In philosophy, it seems to me, the facts, though superficially similar, fall into a rather different pattern. Here again the starting point is an existing tradition in western Europe, or rather two traditions: the Christian Platonism derived from St. Augustine, and the Latin Aristotelian tradition based on Boethius. It looks as if the Arabic "Aristotelian" tradition [1] came in, in the first instance, almost accidentally, through its connection with the scientific and medical works translated in the eleventh century, and by contact with the old Boethian tradition produced a new spurt of intellectual curiosity. It must be remembered that Avicenna died in 1037, and that his works were translated only a century later, that Averroes' dates are 1126-98; and that already by the end of the twelfth century the works of Aristotle were beginning to circulate in translations made directly from the Greek, as well as in translations through the Arabic versions. The western scholars were not wholly dependent, therefore, on the Arabic versions for the *text* of many of Aristotle's writings (indeed, Grosseteste was already reading him in the original Greek); but the text of Aristotle (as generations of students know) is not infrequently obscure, and it was chiefly for the sake of their commentaries that the Arabic works were prized, and above all the works of Avicenna and Averroes. The consequence of this confrontation of medieval Europe with Aristotle was the creation of scholasticism, exactly as four centuries earlier the same confrontation had created Muslim scholasticism; and the first task of scholasticism was to assimilate Aristotelianism. As in Islam, so also in the west, Aristotle was inescapable, as well in theological as in philosophical thought; and the theological problem was solved (on their own ground, of course) by Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas—drawing partly on the works written with a similar object in relation to *their* religious systems by the Muslim al-Ghazālī and the Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides. And all of them, Muslim and Christian alike, stand on

[1] I put the term "Aristotelian" in inverted commas, since the character and constituents of Arabic "Aristotelianism" are still very imperfectly known. There was certainly a considerable Platonic or Neoplatonic element in its metaphysics (as pointed out later); and I am provisionally implying by the term a system of philosophic thought based on the physics and methodology of Aristotle.

the shoulders of those forgotten late Alexandrians and Syrians who first trimmed Aristotle into conformity with revealed theistic religion. The *Summa* (which I have not read, and do not expect ever to read) is, no doubt, a masterpiece of creative synthesis; but so, in different degrees, are the writings of al-Fārābī, Avicenna and Averroes. The differences between them are almost entirely functions of one of two things: either how much Platonism (neo or genuine) is mixed up with their interpretation of Aristotle, or where they draw the dividing line between rationality and dogma. Hence the violent conflict in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries between the Christian Aristotelians and the Averroists—those proclaiming the dogmas of revelation, these the dogmas of reason; but both were in reality quarrelling largely over the dead bones of once living thought.

I doubt whether Aristotelianism as a system has ever been congenial to the living thought of the west. It is relevant to observe, therefore, that even during this medieval interlude the Platonist and mystical tendencies in Europe also found reinforcement in Arabic learning. Not only were there the neoplatonic elements in the systems of al-Kindī and Avicenna, but in addition there was a whole corpus of neoplatonic writings recovered through the Arabic translations, notably the materials from Proclus in the version known as the *De Causis*. Furthermore, the works of the Arabic mystics, though they perhaps influenced directly only Ramon Lull, scattered their seeds far and wide, to flower not only in the religious literature of Spain, but also in the Florentine poets and perhaps even in the later German mystics. It is, I think, arguable that the contribution of Arabic Platonism to European thought at its more intimate levels was far more important than the contribution of Arabic Aristotelianism.

The conclusion that seems to emerge from this brief discussion of the two fields of natural science and philosophy is rather a curious one. The western scholars were looking for something in the Islamic culture, but what they were looking for was entirely different from what the Arabs had looked for in Greek culture. The Arabs were looking for a logical methodology to

subserve the dogmatic structure of Islam, the westerners were looking primarily for a logical methodology to subserve the practical arts. Both found what they wanted, but in the process they acquired a great deal more than they bargained for. The Arabs acquired the physical and mathematical science of the Greeks, the westerners the corpus of " Aristotelian " philosophy. In both cases these additional acquisitions were able to establish themselves for a time, because of their intimate connection with the desired objects ; but finally (in accordance with our third law) they either became inert or were superseded. Natural science in the Arabic-Islamic culture was pegged to that stage at which the Arabic scientists had developed the concepts and methods taken over from the Greeks. In Europe the metaphysics of Aristotle affected for a time scholastic thought, but was ultimately displaced, partly by the older and more congenial currents of Platonism, partly by newer philosophies, and survived only in those circles which carried on the traditions of medieval scholasticism.

We turn now from the world of scholarship proper to the realm of literature. And here we must begin by again emphasizing some distinctions. Firstly, there is a distinction between genuinely creative influence and what I shall call " borrowings ", that is to say, the casual utilization of literary materials. Such stories as the Squire's Tale in Chaucer, isolated episodes of eastern origin in western romances, and even whole books translated from the Arabic which circulated more or less widely in the Middle Ages—all these come into the category of borrowings, and correspond in literature to the motives and elements of technique introduced from the Arabic culture into the western plastic arts. Secondly, there is a distinction to be drawn between literary productions which exercised an influence in the aesthetic sense, and those whose influence was technical rather than strictly literary. It was inevitable that the philosophical writings that we have just been considering should have produced some reflections in western literature, directly or indirectly, and that the moral and didactic writings of European scholars should have drawn on works of the same kind in Arabic. One of the most interesting examples is the Syrian work attributed to Aristotle

called the *Secreta Secretorum*. It had a peculiar fascination for Roger Bacon, and it keeps turning up over and over again in medieval literature in a variety of adaptations, besides furnishing materials for such writers as Gower. One may say without much fear of contradiction that there was a kind of legacy of prose writings of Arabic provenance which entered into the common patrimony of medieval Europe and which added some touches of colour to its native hues. But whether as quarries for moral *exempla*, or as handbooks of ancient wisdom, or simply as sources of romantic anecdotes, the materials they supplied were inserted into patterns of native origin, and it was only in Spain that they exercised any determining or formative influence upon any branch of western literature.

On the whole, therefore, " borrowings " can fairly easily be established, even when the borrowed materials have been more or less adapted to a different structure. Genuinely " creative " literary influences, on the other hand, are exceptionally hard to establish. The nature of the proof does not lie, as might be imagined at first, in mere mass or quantity. The factor excluding proof of this kind is covered by our Second Law, which implies that no structural aesthetic element can be effectively transferred to another culture unless in the process of transference it is adapted to the aesthetic tastes and requirements of the recipients. This necessity of adaptation has two effects : one, that it almost always conceals the actual process, and makes it difficult to reconstruct because of the absence of detailed documentary evidence (how many, for example, would trace James Thomson's *City of Dreadful Night* to the *Arabian Nights* if they had not his own evidence for it?) ; the other, that *one* single successful adaptation may be enough to serve as the starting-point for a whole series of new and independent developments. For the very fact of adaptation means that both in the first example and in the later development all kinds of other cultural factors are co-operating, and all of them are so intermingled that it is scarcely ever possible to make precise attributions.

There are, I believe, only two branches of medieval western literature in which any question of the creative literary influence of Arabic culture can arise. One is that of Spanish literature,

which I have already mentioned. The other is the interminably-argued relation between Spanish-Arabic and Provençal poetry; and it is precisely because of the two difficulties I have just discussed that this question is a question at all. In this instance, moreover, we come up against a third problem. The most striking fact about the new Provençal lyric is the suddenness with which it emerges, not only without any known western ancestry, but with a completely developed form and technique. This is often stated as an argument for its introduction from outside; but, on the contrary, by our First Law this fact would seem to exclude the hypothesis of a creative influence from Arabic culture, if there were no already existing cultural activity to furnish the factor of attraction.

Yet there are certain unchallengeable facts, though they are sometimes obscured in the controversy. There is the parallelism of metrical techniques in some early Provençal poems of the courtly type and some Spanish-Arabic poems; there is the persistence in the same Provençal poetry of certain themes or motifs which are traditional constituents of Arabic love-poetry. These call for a reasonable explanation. Granted that no poetry of this kind is known to us from Provence or the neighbouring regions until the end of the eleventh century, are we to suppose that it had no antecedents there at all? The suggestion is clearly absurd, and is indeed disproved by the surviving traces of earlier Romance poetry. In reality, I believe, we have in this problem a situation parallel to the apparent exception which I discussed earlier, in reference to the introduction of Greek philosophy into Islamic culture. The Islamic empire of the eighth century was a crucible in which the contributions of old Arab and Persian culture were compounded with the Hellenistic culture of the Syrians and Aramaeans. Just in the same way, in tenth and eleventh century Spain, the Christians, in the north as well as in the south, intermingled with the "Moors", who themselves not only brought in and disseminated their Arabic culture, but also incorporated large numbers of the Romance-speaking population.

It would be flatly opposed to all that we know of medieval Spain to exclude exchange of aesthetic as well as other cultural

elements. There is, however, no evidence at all that the Christians were attracted by the highly formalized art of the classical Arabic *qaṣīda* or ode. On the contrary, it was the Moors who—as has now been shown with tolerable certainty—were attracted to certain types of Romance popular poetry, and who developed from them the new stanza forms of the *muwashshaḥ and the zajal.*[1] In doing so they of course adapted them, firstly to Arabic prosodic structure, and secondly by elaborating their content and imagery with themes and motifs derived from their own courtly or popular love-poetry. There can hardly be any doubt that in the cultivated mixed society of the Spanish Marches the developing Romance poetry was in its turn affected in some degree by the Arabic techniques and themes.[2] That there is nothing improbable (still less derogatory, as some scholars still seem, curiously, to think) in the seepage of Arabic techniques into Romance literature is demonstrated by the Northern French *Aucassin et Nicolette.* Consequently, the adaptation of elements of the Arabic prosodic structure, and the transference of its traditional motifs, would conform entirely to our First Law; and in the Provençal courtly lyric both were brilliantly exploited within a new western literary art that nevertheless stood essentially on its own feet.[3]

Finally, as Christopher Dawson has shown,[4] in its Tuscan descendant it was coloured by the newer metaphysical ideas which had permeated western secular thought from the neo-platonism of the Arabic commentators and mystics, to create the almost perfect synthesis of Mediterranean romantic art in the *dolce stil nuovo.* As for the *Divina Commedia* itself, the demonstration by E. Cerulli [5] of both the extent and the limits of Islamic

[1] Strictly speaking, it was only the stanza-form and structure of the *muwashshaḥ* that were entirely new to Arabic poetry; in the very different *zajal* the novelty lay in technique rather than in structure.

[2] On the crucial question of themes see especially the articles of Father J. Denomy in *Mediaeval Studies* (Toronto), 1944, 1945, and 1949.

[3] Since preparing this article, I find a similar conclusion expressed in the detailed study of P. Le Gentil, *Le Virelai et le Villancico* (Paris, 1954), p. 249: "Je pense que ces contacts n'ont été suivis d'effet que dans le cas où un exemple étranger se trouvait rejoindre des traditions indigènes préexistantes."

[4] *Mediaeval Essays,* pp. 234-5.

[5] In the Appendix to his edition of the *Libro della Scala,* Vatican City, 1949.

themes drawn upon by Dante seems to have shown that all the so-called Arabic influences are in fact "borrowings" from secondary materials, in the sense in which I have distinguished these two terms above.

To sum up this discussion very briefly, there is a fairly clear distinction to be drawn between "neutral" borrowings from the Arabic-Islamic culture and the "shaded" influences or adaptations. In the neutral sphere of science and technology, the medieval Catholic world took over everything that it could use. In the intellectual and aesthetic spheres, it is very remarkable that all the elements taken over into western culture prove to be either elements of European origin adapted into the Arabic-Islamic culture, or elements with very close relations in western culture. On the whole, therefore, the contributions to the west from Arabic sources, although at first some of them seemed to be alien and dangerous, tended ultimately to reinforce the medieval Catholic culture rather than to disturb it. I see no argument for the assumption, still fairly often made, that these importations in themselves struck at the roots of medieval thought and prepared the way for its overthrow, with the one possible exception of Averroism—but this itself had become stagnant and inert by the end of the fourteenth century.

This conclusion seems finally to conform to what may be a universal psychological law in human societies. On the one hand, natural science and technology are indefinitely transmissible, and constitute the only truly international element in human culture. On the other hand, art, aesthetics, philosophy and religious thought retain their distinguishing characteristics within each separate culture. Every society jealously guards its own, and although not wholly impermeable to influences from without, it will absorb elements from other cultures only within a limited range and in forms adapted to its own temperament and psychological structure.

THE LORD'S PRAYER [1]

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ANYONE who is familiar (but not so familiar as to have his powers of observation blunted) with "the Order for Morning Prayer, daily throughout the year", or its evening counterpart, in the *Book of Common Prayer*, will have noticed that the Lord's Prayer occurs twice in the services: first after the Absolution, and again between the Lesser Litany and the Versicles. If he is particularly observant he will have seen that at its second appearance the Prayer is without the closing doxology and ends with the petition, "Deliver us from evil". If he seeks an explanation of this and consults one or other of the standard works on the subject,[2] he will find that the duplication of the Prayer is one among many indications that the Prayer Book has a very long and complex history; and that in the story of the growth and development of Christian worship, the Lord's Prayer, as might be expected, has played a distinctive and important part. In order to appreciate this to the full we must turn from the Daily Offices to the Order of Holy Communion. Here we find the Lord's Prayer following immediately upon the communion of the people, a position given to it in the Prayer Book of 1552.[3] Before that date in the West it had preceded the communion.[4]

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 10th of November, 1954.

[2] E.g. Proctor and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1901) Chap. IX; Lowther Clarke and Harris, *Liturgy and Worship*, particularly the chapter on "The Choir Offices" (pp. 257-95), by Professor E. C. Ratcliff.

[3] Proctor and Frere, pp. 49 f. Cf. *Liturgy and Worship*, pp. 355 f. (J. H. Srawley); G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 665.

[4] Proctor and Frere, pp. 436 f., 446 f., 469 f. The use of the Prayer in the Eucharistic service goes back to an early date, though it cannot be traced to primitive times. Cf. Dix, op. cit. pp. 108 f., 130 f.; J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy* [2] (1947), p. 207.

This means that the place of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic Liturgy from the fourth century onwards is within the section known as the Mass of the Faithful. In other words, the knowledge and use of it go with full membership of the Church. This accords with the early practice of the Church in using the period of preparation of candidates for baptism to teach them, among other things, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.[1] The practice varied in different parts of the Church but always included the teaching of the Lord's Prayer and the explaining of it to candidates for baptism. Duchesne in his work on the early history of the Liturgy (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*) speaks about this and tells us that the instructor began by a general exhortation. Then he repeated phrase by phrase the text of the prayer with a commentary on each petition. After the last petition a short address terminated the ceremony. There are sermons of St. Augustine which give specimens of this kind of instruction. In Africa the transmission of the Lord's Prayer to candidates took place eight days after they had been taught the Creed; and it is quite possible that the earliest exposition of the Lord's Prayer which we possess—that of Tertullian [2]—may have been based on such exposition of the Prayer given to candidates for baptism. The most recent view is that Tertullian's work was intended for a congregation containing both candidates

[1] Proctor and Frere, pp. 561, 566; P. Oppenheim, *De Fontibus et Historia Ritus Baptismalis* (1943), pp. 76, 80, 87, 101, 105; R. F. Refoulé, *Tertullien, Traité du Baptême* (1952), p. 35; L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien* [5] (1909), pp. 305-12, especially p. 309 on the transmission of the Lord's Prayer to candidates for baptism: "Il (the priest) commençait par une exhortation d'ensemble, puis il récitait phrase par phrase le texte de l'oraison dominicale, en le commentant à mesure. Après la dernière demande, une petite allocution terminait la cérémonie. . . . Plusieurs sermons de saint Augustin (56-59) ont été composés pour la tradition et l'explication du *Pater*.—En Afrique, la tradition du *Pater* avait lieu huit jours après celle du symbole" (Aug., *Serm. ad compet.*, LVIII, LIX).

[2] On the possibility that Tertullian's tract *de Oratione* may be based, wholly or in part, on such an exposition of the Prayer to candidates for baptism see P. Monceaux, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, i (1901), 369 ff., and the full discussion by G. F. Diercks in his edition of the *de Oratione* (1947), *Prolegomena*, pp. xcix-civ. His conclusion is that the work was intended for a congregation containing both catechumens and baptized members: the first expository part being intended for the former, the second more liturgical part for the latter (p. civ).

for baptism and fully baptized members: the exposition of the text of the Prayer being intended for the candidates, and the rest of the discourse for those who were already members. In Cyril of Jerusalem's instructions to candidates for baptism and newly baptized members the exposition of the Lord's Prayer was given after baptism to the new members as part of the commentary on the Eucharistic Liturgy to which they were now admitted. It seems that in the early Church the Lord's Prayer was intimately bound up with the reception of candidates into church membership. Indeed, in one Church Order it is laid down that the candidate after being baptized and anointed must stand up, face eastwards, and repeat " the prayer which the Lord taught us ".[1] The point of all this is that, whereas nowadays the Lord's Prayer is, so to speak, common property and freely available for general use, in the early centuries the employment, and even the knowledge of it may have been a good deal more restricted. When it appears in the liturgical books it is closely connected with the most sacred and intimate of Christian experiences and those who repeat it " make bold to say " it.[2]

What seems to be at first glance a somewhat different picture is presented by the oldest of all the books of order, the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, dating from the first half of the second century. Here the Lord's Prayer is set out with a short introduction evidently condensed from the directions on

[1] *Const. Apost.* vii. 45.

[2] In the western liturgies " Praeceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere " (C. E. Hammond, *Antient Liturgies* (1878), p. 342). In the eastern liturgies: St. James (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 59) *καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκατακρίτως ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ συντετριμμένῃ, ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χείλεσι τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ λέγειν . . .*

Other examples in Brightman, op. cit. pp. 100, 136, 182, 339, 391, 410, 469, n. 14. What Christians " make bold " to do is to call the Almighty " Father ", as is clear from the comment of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Myst.*, v. 11) *εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγοντες· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ὢ τῆς μεγίστης τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· τοις ἀποπηδήσασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἐσχάτοις γενομένοις κακοῖς τοσαύτην δεδώρηται κακῶν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ χάριτος μετουσίαν, ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.*

prayer given in the Sermon on the Mount. The passage runs as follows :

> And do not pray as the hypocrites do, but as the Lord commanded in his gospel : " Pray thus, 'Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed by thy name ; thy kingdom come ; thy will be done as in heaven so on earth ; give us this day our daily bread ; and forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors ; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil ; for thine is the power and the glory for ever '." Pray thus three times a day.[1]

Evidently what is here dealt with is not the administration of the sacraments, but the daily private devotions of the individual Christian. It is, however, significant that this instruction does not appear until after the rules concerning baptism have been set out. The first part of the *Didache* (i-vi) has all the appearance of being a course of instruction for catechumens. Chapter vii regulates the administration of baptism ; and then we come to the rules to be followed by Church members : fasting, prayer (including the Lord's Prayer), communion, church organization and discipline (viii-xv). Finally, there is an exhortation to watchfulness in view of the end of the world. The important point is that the Prayer seems to be provided for the use of those who are already full members of the Church ; and it also seems that it cannot be taken for granted that those who are not yet members will be familiar with it. The author of the *Didache* cannot, or at any rate does not, say simply, " Repeat the Lord's Prayer three times a day ". He has to tell them what they are to say.

It may be only coincidence, but it is, nevertheless, a curious fact that, apart from the passage in the *Didache*, there is only one single probable allusion to the Lord's Prayer in the earliest Christian literature. This is in the letter of the Bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp, to the Philippians [2] and even here there is no actual quotation of the words of the Prayer. What the Bishop says is

[1] *Didache*, viii. 2 f. The rendering given above treats the words οὕτω προσεύχεσθε as part of the commandment of the Lord, as in Matt. vi. 9. There may be an echo of this in the Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites (Brightman, p. 182) and in that of the Nestorians (Brightman, p. 295).

On the injunction to say the Prayer thrice daily see C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (1944), pp. 59-70 ; E. C. Ratcliff, *op. cit.*

[2] vi. 2.

this, " If we pray the Lord to forgive us, we also ought to forgive, for we stand before the eyes of the Lord and of God, and ' we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, and each must give an account of himself '." [1] It is perhaps significant that the reasons advanced from scripture for showing a forgiving spirit are drawn from the letters of St. Paul, and that no appeal is made to the Lord's Prayer specifically.

The Prayer is not used by name by the early Apologists in their propaganda for Christianity. They have many things to say by way of criticism of pagan religion and commendation of their own faith ; but the beauty, purity, and simplicity of the Lord's Prayer is not one of their arguments. It can hardly be that they were ignorant of it : and it may well be that they felt some reserve about communicating it to non-Christians. That would certainly fit in with the little we know about its early liturgical use.

The upshot of all this is that in the earliest period of Church history we find that the Prayer, so far as the evidence goes, is something that was known to and used by Church members and, it would seem, by Church members only. It was used particularly in connection with the two sacraments of the Church and also by individual Church members in their private devotions. That means that we should expect that the Lord's Prayer will have had a textual history somewhat different from that of other parts of the New Testament, in that it will have been exposed to the influence of liturgical use and catechetical exposition as well as to the inevitable risks of scribal copying and editorial correction—or mis-correction. And the available evidence bears out this expectation. With regard to the influence of liturgical use, I ought to say at this point that this influence has been at work in other places besides the Lord's Prayer, and I give one example. At an early date the Gospels were used for regular reading in Church services ; and the sections chosen for reading did not always begin in a way that put the congregation *au fait* with the Scriptural situation. In such cases the lectionary made for Church use provided suitable opening sentences, known as " incipits ". They are no part of the canonical text ; but they doubtless sounded all right in the reading.

[1] Cf. Rom. xiv. 10, 12 ; 2 Cor. v. 10.

The influence of liturgical use has clearly been much greater in the case of the Lord's Prayer. We may point first to the fact that there are two versions of the Prayer in the New Testament: one is given in the course of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 9-13); the other is found in an entirely different setting in Luke xi. 2-4. Not only are the circumstances different: there are also considerable divergences between the Matthaean wording of the prayer and that given in the true text of Luke. These facts were, of course, well known to Origen, the greatest Biblical scholar of the early Church, in the first half of the third century. In his *Treatise on Prayer* he discusses at considerable length whether the Lord gave the Prayer once only, from which it would follow that, in one or other of the Gospels, the true text has been modified; or whether there were two different occasions on which the Prayer was given, with the possibility that the wording varied on the two occasions. Origen concluded, not without hesitation, in favour of the latter view.

Let us take a fresh look at the whole question. In Matthew we have the opening address, "Our Father who art in heaven". There is no question that this is what Matthew wrote. In the true text of Luke the prayer begins simply, "Father". A kind of half-way house is given by Tertullian in his version of the Prayer, which omits "our" and says "Father who art in heaven". Which of these is the more likely to be the original form of the Prayer? I do not myself think that there is any room for serious doubt. We know from other places in the Gospels that the form of address used by our Lord in prayer was, in fact, the simple word "Father". This appears from the most solemn and impressive of all the prayers, that in Gethsemane; and it is corroborated by the teaching of St. Paul in Romans viii. 15 and Galatians iv. 6, where he indicates to us that one of the primary results of the working of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians is that they are able to address God as "Father" simply. More than that, Paul uses the same word that is used by Jesus—the Aramaic *Abba*. That seems to me to make it very probable that the intention of our Lord was that his disciples should learn to pray to God in the same way as he did himself. Why then do we come to have in Matthew "Our Father who art in

heaven"? There need be little hesitation about the answer to that question, since "Our Father who art in heaven" is a stock phrase of Jewish Synagogue piety—one way in which a reverent and devout Jew spoke to God. I am therefore inclined to think that the replacement of the simple "Father" by the more respectful—I would almost say more formal—expression "Our Father who art in heaven" is the result of Jewish piety influencing in the first instance Jewish-Christian piety, and eventually the piety of the Church at large. In that regard it is interesting to observe the way in which the prayer is introduced in the daily liturgy established in the East. In the Western Church "we make bold to say 'Our Father'". That "making bold", I think, can be traced back fairly clearly in some of the Greek forms to the meaning "we make bold" to address God as Father. "We make bold", we go so far as to say "Our Father who art in heaven", but we are not so bold as to say simply "Father". Whether that is right or wrong I do not attempt to determine. It is possible to be too familiar with the Almighty; and beyond doubt it is right that Christians should have a proper reverence and respect in approaching Him. Sound liturgical practice inculcates and fosters reverence. On the other hand, there is something lost if Christians cannot speak to God with a simple directness and intimacy while still maintaining due reverence. It may be that in practice the simple solution would be to use the Matthaean opening for public worship and the Lukan for private devotions.

Another example of modification by liturgical use may be found in a variant reading in the Lukan version of the Prayer. Here in certain manuscripts the familiar clause, "Thy kingdom come", disappears and is replaced by an entirely different petition, "Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us". This reading occurs in two manuscripts only, 162 and 700, of which 700 is by far the more important. The reading was known to the Church fathers Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor. With the help of other evidence it can be traced back to very early times. It seems that it was known to, and perhaps used by, the heretic Marcion in the early part of the second century. What the full meaning of these various bits of evidence may be

I do not feel qualified or able to say dogmatically, but I strongly suspect that they reflect the use of the Lord's Prayer in connection with the rites of initiation into membership of the Christian community. We know from the New Testament that the reception of the Holy Spirit—usually marked by "speaking with tongues"—was regarded as the normal accompaniment of baptism in the Apostolic Age. The order of events may be uncertain; and the laying on of Apostolic hands often, and nearly always, had a part to play, some might say an essential part. But whatever may be the truth about details, there is no doubt about the main fact that baptism and the gift of the Holy Spirit were closely connected in the Apostolic Age.

A different picture of baptism is given if we turn to the accounts of the baptism administered by John the Baptist. John's baptism is evidently a rite of purification like the baptism of Proselytes. I am becoming inclined to think that the baptism with fire which John held over the heads of his contemporaries may have been a baptism with refiner's fire. It may have been a fire of destruction; but also it could be a fire of purification. I am inclined to the latter possibility by the fact that in the Jewish rites for the purification of vessels both water and fire were used, fire being the more powerful detergent. It may be that John offered the drastic purification by fire as an alternative to destruction. I recall that St. Paul, writing in 1 Corinthians vii. 12-15 on the testing of work and saving of workers, says "by fire". It seems to me not impossible that the cleansing work of water and fire has been transferred to the Holy Spirit; and that the reception of the Holy Spirit may have been thought of as the perfect cleansing of the human soul. If that was so, then this variant petition may perhaps be construed as a request for baptism with the Holy Spirit as the supreme cleansing of the spirit of man. This would suggest, in its turn, that it came into use in connection with the baptismal rite; and the distribution of the witnesses to this reading leads one to think that the change of reading took place in the Eastern Church rather than the Western. And, finally, the fact that this petition appears to have been known to Marcion and adopted into his version of the Lord's Prayer would suggest that it came into use very early. I do not think

it is at all likely that it is an original part of the Lord's Prayer as given by the Lord, but I can well imagine that it is a very early example of the way in which the Prayer was modified by liturgical use, as prayers constantly are unless you stick very rigidly to a written text.[1]

A third example of liturgical modification is the Doxology, " For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen." Whether we follow Matthew or Luke, this is quite clearly no part of the true text of the Prayer, as given to the Disciples by Jesus. The interesting thing is that there is a remarkable lack of unanimity among the manuscripts and versions, which give the Doxology, as to the form it should take. Three things are connected—" kingdom, power, and glory ". They are all present in the great mass of manuscripts of Matthew belonging to what we know as the Byzantine or Ecclesiastical tradition—the standard New Testament text of the Eastern Orthodox Church from the fifth and sixth centuries onwards. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and the Sahidic version have " for thine is the power and the glory ". On the other hand the Curetonian manuscript of the old Syriac has " for thine is the kingdom and the glory ". No authority contains " kingdom and power " but one manuscript (*k*), representing the text in use in Carthage in the third century, has " power " alone without either " kingdom " or " glory ". The Doxology is entirely omitted by the best manuscripts of Alexandria, by the leading western manuscript D, by the old Latin version and the Vulgate. When we look at all that complicated mass of facts, we observe that the main attestation of the Doxology comes from the Eastern centres of Christianity. The Ecclesiastical Byzantine text is the text of the Eastern Orthodox Church ; the manuscript Θ was closely associated with the Church at Caesarea, in Palestine; while the *Didache* was early connected with Syria. Important evidence against the Doxology comes from the geographical West, the Codex Bezae (D), the old Latin and the Vulgate; and here the West is supported by the main scholarly tradition of Alexandria, embodied in the Bא text.

[1] We need only consider the amount of variation that has been imported, in Free Church usage, into the Apostolic Benediction (2 Cor. xiii. 14).

The Doxology is a liturgical addition; and it is significant that it should appear mainly in the East. Its absence in the early days in the West is paralleled by the fact that the Western liturgy—the Roman liturgy—is in general marked by a certain austerity which is not characteristic of the Eastern liturgies. These are more florid and decorative and seem almost to revel in the heaping up of dignified and reverent phrases; the West proceeds more quietly and soberly, and avoids extravagance in its liturgical fashion.

So much for liturgical changes in the text of the Prayer.

Another group of variants is connected with instruction and doctrine: they arise from the fact that teachers in the Church undertake to expound the Lord's Prayer. One of the most striking examples of this is to be found in Tertullian's *Tract on the Prayer*.[1] Here we are probably listening to the author expounding the Lord's Prayer to candidates for baptism. The order of the second and third petitions is inverted. Where we are accustomed to pray: "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as in heaven", in Tertullian we find the order: "Thy will be done in the heavens and in earth" followed by "Thy kingdom come". This is no accident; for later on, when summing up, he puts the petitions in the same order. After the name of God, the will of God, and then the kingdom of God. When you read what he has to say in the actual exposition the reason for the change or order is clear. Tertullian thinks of the coming of the kingdom in terms of the end of the world and therefore the doing of God's will on earth, if it is to be done at all, must precede the coming of the kingdom. There will be no chance of doing God's will on earth when the kingdom has come because the coming of the kingdom will be the end of the present world order. Tertullian is apparently not in favour of any interpretation of the coming of the kingdom simply in terms of man's obedience to the will of God here and now. In this he is surely wrong. I think the common order is the right one and that we are on the right track when we think that the coming of the kingdom is elucidated in one of its essential characteristics by the petition "thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven".

[1] Now readily accessible in the admirable little edition by Canon Ernest Evans.

When it is done on earth as in heaven, at that moment, in that spot, and to that extent the kingdom truly comes. This we may affirm without denying that there are other aspects of the coming of the kingdom that belong elsewhere.

I now turn to consider the differences between Luke and Matthew in regard to forgiveness of sins. In Luke we have the present tense, " Forgive us our sins, for we ourselves also forgive. . . ." In Matthew we have the perfect, " Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven. . . ." And that goes with another interesting fact that in the Lukan account of the giving of the Lord's Prayer the Prayer is followed by an assurance from Jesus of the readiness of God to hear anyone who sincerely prays to him. But in Matthew it is followed by the statement of the terms on which God will or will not grant forgiveness (Matt. vi. 14 f.) " For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you : but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses ". That suggests to one's mind that the perfect tense, " As we also have forgiven " is a statement which in effect means, " we have satisfied the conditions for receiving forgiveness : now let God fulfil his side of the bargain. We have done what is required of us : now it is for God to do the rest." The present tense does not necessarily carry that implication, though, of course, it may. What did Jesus himself teach on this point ? Was it a transaction in which " if I do this, God will be obliged to do that " ? Or was it something different ? I think we get some light on the question in Matthew v. 23, " If you are making your offering in the Temple and remember that your brother has something against you, stop ; go and make it up with your brother then continue with your offering ". Now the implication of that, I think, is that genuine communion with God is somehow blocked by disharmony with one's neighbour. Human beings out of harmony with one another are thereby prevented from being in harmony with God. Another way of putting that is to say that to have a hard and unforgiving spirit is to have *in oneself* the most effective obstacle to the receiving of God's forgiveness. God's forgiveness is not a matter of a bargain or contract or transaction. If you refuse to forgive, it is an indication that you

are unfit to receive forgiveness yourself—unable to accept it. If you cannot give forgiveness you cannot begin to receive it.

The last example that I should like to look at concerns the word "daily", in the petition "Give us our daily bread". This is discussed at enormous length by Origen, who comes down for what is in all probability the wrong interpretation. It touches on the question whether ἐπιούσιος should be derived from ἐπί and οὐσία, οὐσία being a term of philosophical theology, or from the verb ἐπιέναι. Origen has no hesitation about rejecting the latter alternative and choosing the metaphysical interpretation. No doubt the reason for this choice is that "as a Platonist he is convinced concerning the inferiority of the material world. It is shadowy, unsubstantial and of small account as compared with the true, substantial and abiding spiritual realities. Consequently, the things that we can see, hear and touch with the bodily senses, indeed the whole life of the body, are comparatively of little moment. And when we approach the invisible God in prayer, it is not for these bodily things that we are to pray, but for the spiritual only."[1]

Origen's conclusion then is that *epiousios* bread is the "living bread" which has "come down out of heaven".[2] It is the bread "which is best adapted to the reasonable nature and akin to it in its very substance: it provides at once health and vigour and strength to the soul and imparts a share of its own immortality (for the word of God is immortal) to him who eats of it".[3] This *epiousios* bread is also to be understood where Scripture speaks of the tree of life or the wisdom of God. The matter has been well summed up in this way: "The 'bread' we pray for is not the bread that is to lie on our tables, but the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give. To feed on it is to feed on the spiritual teachings of Christ. What is more nourishing to the soul than the Word, and what is more precious to the mind of him who makes room for it than the Wisdom of God? And what is more appropriate to the rational soul than truth." (*De Orat.* xxvii. 2).[4]

[1] J. E. L. Oulton in *Alexandrian Christianity: Library of Christian Classics*, ii. 210 f.

[2] John vi. 51.

[3] *De Orat.* xxvii. 9, trans. Oulton, p. 300.

[4] Oulton, *op. cit.* 119.

This metaphysical bread is received, as all truth must be, through mental processes, instruction, reflection, and the like. The only material medium that would seem to be involved is the written or spoken word. Origen does not suggest in his discussion of this petition that the reference is to the bread of the Eucharist.

It seems to me that Tertullian was on the right track when he linked the expression up, not with the supersubstantial knowledge of God, but with the enjoyment of God's care (para. 6); and this is what the petition asks for in the first instance. In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the problem of the meaning of ἐπιούσιος and lively discussion of every scrap of evidence that might give a clue. And evidence is worse than scanty. Origen could produce no example of the word from the secular Greek literature known to him ; and he was reduced to supposing that it had been coined by the Evangelists. Apart from the Gospels and Christian writings based on them, it appears as a variant reading in three late manuscripts of 2 Macc. i. 8, where it refers to the shewbread. The only other occurrence, so far as I know, was in a papyrus document published by Flinders Petrie in 1889 in the volume of the Egypt Exploration Society's Reports dealing with Hawara, Biamu, and Arsinoe. This document was apparently a domestic account book and a comparison of its data with those furnished by a wall-inscription from Pompeii (*CIL* iv, Suppl. 4000 g) suggested that ἐπιούσιος could be a term to describe the daily ration of food issued to domestic slaves. Unfortunately, the Flinders-Petrie papyrus appears to have been lost and the wall-inscription to have succumbed to the weather.[1] But from what was gathered at the time it would seem that the mysterious word simply reflects the arrangements in any contemporary household, with rations being issued to the servants on one day for use on the following day.[2] The picture that is presented by this petition, if this is

[1] Details in essays by F. Stiebitz in *Philologische Wochenschrift* for 16 July 1927, cols. 889-892 and A. Deissmann in *Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift* (1929), i. 299-306.

[2] Cf. Luke xii. 42 " Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall set over his household, to give them their portion of food (their rations) in due season ? "

the right way to understand *epiousios*, is the picture of the follower of Jesus doing his daily tasks as God wills and receiving from God's hands whatever is needed to keep him going at work for another day.

That, I think, is as much as we can attempt in the way of detailed examination of particular points and I suppose that those who have followed the discussion so far will be asking questions like this: Are we any nearer to being able to reconstruct the original form of the Lord's Prayer as our Lord himself gave it? Can we be sure that we have anything like the exact wording? I do not think that it is possible with absolute certainty in every detail to say just what the original form of the Prayer was. We can make guesses; but we cannot know beyond doubt that our guesses are right. We must be content with approximations; and I think that we can know what the Lord's Prayer must have been like originally well enough to be able to use it as guide, model, and standard for our own praying. And I think we can be reasonably sure of the meaning of the several petitions.

At this point I venture to state my own conclusions, for what they are worth, as a kind of summing up of the discussion so far. I think that the Prayer probably began with the simple address "Father". That set the tone of the Prayer as a whole. It is a way of expressing at the outset a simple, direct trust and love akin to that shown by our Lord himself in his earthly life. This is followed by the petition that God's name may be sanctified. That is, the address is intimate and familiar but it is accompanied by all the reverence and devotion that are due from man to God; and, as the early Fathers said, this petition means in the first instance "hallowed by me". "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven" I think are sufficiently near to the original and I think they belong together and the second half is explanatory of the first. "Thy kingdom come" means first and foremost "thy kingdom come in my case." Our Lord's prayer in Gethsemane explains perfectly what is meant both by "thy kingdom come" and by "thy will be done on earth as in heaven". Complete obedience on the part of him who prays is the explanation—and the realization—of the kingly rule of the divine Father. The second part of the Lord's Prayer is the

request for the things that are necessary in order to be good and faithful servants of the heavenly king : enough material provision to do one's work efficiently ; a gracious and forgiving attitude to us in the mistakes and disobedience that none of us can hope to avoid, coupled with the acknowledgement that if we are to have that, we must be prepared to show a forgiving and kindly spirit to our neighbours in their mistakes and disobedience and trespasses. The request regarding temptation has peculiar difficulties of its own : would God lead us into temptation ? The short answer—and there is no time for a long discussion—is that as the world is made we cannot avoid it ; it is there in any case. The petition, I think, ought to be understood as a request that we should not have to face trials or temptations that might lead us into absolute disloyalty. That goes with the final petition, for deliverance from the powers that are hostile to the will of God.

This, then, I think is the substance of the prayer in what seems to me to be its original form. It is a proclamation and personal acknowledgement of the kingship of the divine Father made in confident love, deep reverence, and willing obedience ; and this is joined with a request to him for all things that are needed in order that we may be in the fullest and most real sense his loyal subjects and servants as long as we live.

THE AUTOGRAPHS OF PETER THE DEACON

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THE particular interest of Peter the Deacon's autographs derives from the bearing which they have on "one of the thorny problems of the Beneventan script", namely, the presence of ordinary minuscule in the Beneventan zone.[1] The expression is Professor Willard's, used in connection with *Codex Casinensis* 580.[2] Because of the importance of this manuscript for our present purpose we may begin by recalling some of its main features here. It is a *Lexicon Prosodiacum* of the eleventh century written partly in Beneventan (pp. 1-11) and partly in ordinary minuscule (pp. 11-80). Not only is the script of both sections contemporary, as in the case of *Cod. Cas.* 230 and *Cod. Cas.* 5, but it can be conclusively shown that "the copying of the whole MS was performed by a single hand".[3] The Beneventan portion of the work manifests a certain weakness through the presence of minuscule elements,[4] while the minuscule part still retains "a certain Beneventan cast".[5] Yet throughout there is

[1] Cf. E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), C. 5, pp. 84-92. Beneventan is a form of regional minuscule but for convenience sake 'minuscule' is used throughout as signifying ordinary or Caroline minuscule in opposition to Beneventan.

[2] H. M. Willard, "Codex Casinensis 580 T. Lexicon prosodiacum saec. XI", *Casinensia*, i (Monte Cassino, 1929), 297-304. At the end of Willard's article there are reduced facsimiles of fols. 4r, 21r, 36r.

[3] Willard, *Casinensia*, i. 303. In note 1 the author states that E. K. Rand, who examined the photographs of the manuscript, lent his support to this conclusion.

[4] The frequent occurrence of a Caroline *a* at the end of a word or within it betrays a weakness. So does the fact that the "headings (names of authors, and *distinctiones*) hold to the Beneventan only for the first page. Then the Beneventan signs are abandoned" and the minuscule headings continued through the Beneventan portion of the work.

[5] Willard, *Casinensia*, i. 302, n. 1: ". . . the Beneventan *ec* combination is kept up, and indeed is even found in the text of the *exempla* portion. The capital *J*, with the break through its centre so common to the Beneventan, is likewise carried straight through." To this can be added the fact that the familiar Beneventan *i* stroke is clearly visible in some of the words of the minuscule section. Cf. fol. 21r, the *u* in the words *holocaustum*, *parasius*, *plurima*, etc.

a continuity " in the ordinary letter formation ", which goes to show a real unity of hand.[1] The anomaly of the situation has been explained " by assuming that a northern scribe, on coming to a Beneventan centre, learned to write a regional hand ; he became, so to speak, a Beneventan scribe by adoption ",[2] and though he lapses more easily into the script with which he is most familiar the influence of his Beneventan training can always be felt.

The case of Peter the Deacon is somewhat different and the issue here is of a more serious kind. He entered Monte Cassino as a *puer oblatus* at the age of five about the year 1113.[3] All his early schooling and training he received at the abbey, one of the main centres of the Beneventan script, at a time when the zenith of that script had not yet passed. Many of his works, however, considered to have come down to us in their autograph form are written in ordinary minuscule. It seems generally accepted by historians that Peter the Deacon did in fact make current use of both scripts and altogether six manuscripts are considered to be from his hand. Of these four are in Beneventan and two in ordinary minuscule.[4] But the aggregate of leaves—some four

[1] Willard, *Casinensia*, i. 303. This is perhaps the point that needs most to be stressed here : " . . . the *g* throughout the work, has the same open lower bow and head with the bows on an oblique angle (this is true for the *o* and *p* as well) and horizontal connecting stroke, the *s* dropping slightly below the line, the *l* with the club shaped shaft and light up-curve as it strikes the line. Most significantly the stroke in these and in other letters, the way of attacking a letter, remains identical."

[2] Willard, *Casinensia*, i. 303.

[3] Cf. E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin, 1909), referred to hereafter as *Petrus Diaconus*, pp. 21-2 for a discussion on the date of Peter's birth. The year 1107 seems the most probable in view of the data supplied by the first autobiography of *Cod. Cas.* 361.

[4] The minuscule manuscripts are *Cod. Cas.* 257 and *Cod. Cas.* 361. Cf. *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus* for a summary description of the contents of these manuscripts (ii, pt. i, 68-71 and ii, pt. ii, 208-12). Their autograph nature is traditionally recognized. The Beneventan manuscripts are : (i) The *Registrum Petri Diaconi* = *Regesto* N. 3 of Monte Cassino (Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 353) also traditionally considered to be Peter's work ; cf. Bethmann, *Archiv*, xii 511 ; Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, p. 19, etc. (ii) *Codex Cas.* 518 = The *Registrum S. Placidi* (Lowe, ibid. p. 351) considered autograph for the same reason : cf. Bethmann, *Archiv*, xii, 509 ; Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, p. 19, etc. (iii) Munich *Cod. Lat. Monac.* 4623, the main text and the marginalia. The authority for this attribution is H. W. Klewitz, " Petrus Diaconus und die

hundred—for each of these groups is much the same. On palaeographical grounds alone this would constitute something of a phenomenon. What, one wonders, can have impelled a writer, presumably brought up on Beneventan from an early age, to make such abundant use of a script so entirely different from his own? Why this unnecessary expenditure of effort and attention? But granted that he does use both, it becomes interesting to enquire how far he succeeds in using each in its integrity. How far is there an influence of one script on the other, as in the case of the scribe of *Cod. Cas.* 580? It is clear that the problem when viewed in this way has more than a palaeographic interest. It may furnish the historian with a valuable tool with which to test some of his theories when it comes to attributing to Peter a work for the attribution of which the internal evidence is scant. Yet, despite its importance, the question of Peter's handwriting has never received the full attention it deserves. A few passing references to it will be found in the works of E. Caspar, H. W. Klewitz, W. Smidt and others, but the problem has never been studied by itself.[1]

It should perhaps be stressed at the outset that the scope of this essay is necessarily limited. Our immediate concern is only with autographs as such. We are not trying to discover the whole share which Peter may have had in drawing up a work, but

Montecassineser Klosterchronik des Leo von Ostia" in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xiv (1936), 414-53. Klewitz, however, only considered that part of the main text of the Munich manuscript had been written by Peter (fols. 130-89), the first section (fols. 85-129) being by Leo himself. W. Smidt, "Die vermeintliche und die wirkliche Urgestalt der Chronik Leos von Montecassino", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xxviii (1937-8), 286-97, accepted the main conclusions of Klewitz but maintained that the whole of the main text must be considered as Peter's work. (iv) *Cod. Cas.* 413, the marginal notes which have been added to the *Translatio S. Mennatis* of Leo of Ostia on fols. 133^{r}-136^{v}. Cf. Fr. Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Translations et Miracles de S. Mennas par Léon d'Ostie et Pierre du Mont Cassin", *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxii (1944), 5-32. Dom Maurus Inguanez in his description of *Cod. Cas.* 413 (cf. *Cod. Casin. Manus. Catal.*, iii, pt. i, 16) appears to share this view since he writes: "In I et II transl. additamenta leguntur, quae in opinione est chirographa esse Leonis Ost.; haud scio vero an Petro diacono Casin. tribuenda sint."

[1] Cf. E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, pp. 19-20; H. Klewitz, *Archiv für Urk. For.*, xiv, 445-7, etc.

only whether the existing evidence justifies the accepted conclusion that he did in fact use two different scripts, and whether the manuscripts considered as his are truly from his pen. How is a manuscript judged to be the autograph of a particular author or not? It is evidently a fundamental prerequisite that the script in which it is written should be contemporary with him. The minuscule of the twelfth century differs from that of the ninth. With the advances made in palaeography during the past forty years we should not so easily confuse both these forms today and attribute to Peter a work in which he can scarcely have had a part.[1] But on this ground no serious objection can be raised against any of the manuscripts mentioned above. Because a work is in a script contemporary with an author, it does not follow that it is by that author.[2] Short of his signature to the

[1] It is on this ground that *Cod. Cas.* 316, containing among other works the *Synonima Ciceronis* which Caspar (p. 19), on the the authority of Bethmann (*Archiv*, xii, 505), considered as Peter's autograph, can be excluded. The basis for the attribution is not clear. But Dom Maurus Inguanez (*Cod. Cas. Catal.*, ii, pt. ii, 150) points out that the entire manuscript is written by the same hand, which also wrote *Cod. Cas.* 323, and that the script is Caroline minuscule of the ninth century. A facsimile of page 141 from *Cod.* 316 is given at the end of vol. ii of the *Cod. Cas. Catalogus*. Another work, Beneventan this time, which can also be excluded is *Cod. Cas.* 391 containing *C. I. Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium*. Caspar (p. 19, n. 2), again following Bethmann (*Archiv*, xii, 508), mentions this as an autograph. E. A. Lowe (*Beneventan Script*, p. 350) assigns the manuscript to the eleventh century. But the exclusion is made less on the basis of the script, which might still be contemporary with Peter, than because it does not correspond with the data in Peter's catalogues. He wrote an abbreviation of Solinus: "Solinum de miraculis breviavit." *Cod. Cas.* 391, however, is not an abbreviation but a complete text and most probably the one Peter himself used.

[2] On the subject of medieval writers and their autographs see P. Lehmann, "Autographe und Originale namhafter lateinischer Schriftsteller des Mittelalters", *Zeitschr. des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, iii (1920), 6-16 (reprinted in P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters* (1941), pp. 359-81). An analysis and criticism of the reasons assigned for the autograph nature of certain manuscripts would make a good study on the nature of evidence. It is not impossible that a few traditional positions would need modifying. To take but one example, E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, pp. 330 and 350, mentions *Cod. Cas.* 413, which contains the *Vita et Translatio S. Mennatis*, as an autograph of Leo of Ostia. The suggestion that it is, may originally have been due to the existence of marginal notes in the section on the *Translatio*. A close examination of the script would show, however, that the *Vita* (fols. 128^{r}-131^{v}) and the *Translatio* (fols. 132^{r}-135^{v}) were written by different scribes. They do not use

work further evidence must be sought. We shall consider first the evidence that relates to the minuscule works and then deal with those that are in Beneventan.

The Minuscule Works.

Both the minuscule manuscripts, *Cod. Cas.* 257 and *Cod. Cas.* 361, contain a biography of Peter the Deacon, written in the third person, and in each case this biography includes a list of his works.[1] The biography of *Cod. Cas.* 361, on fol. 71[r], is the shorter of the two; its catalogue comprises fifty items. That of *Cod. Cas.* 257 (pp. 30-1) has sixty-eight.[2] It is the combined evidence of these two biographies which furnishes us with the proof for the autograph nature of the manuscripts. They offer every appearance of having been written by the same hand. The most noticeable thing about them is the evident fact that the catalogues in both manuscripts were not all completed at the same time. In the catalogue of *Cod. Cas.* 361 successive additions were made, not in the margin, but in continuous

the same symbol for *quod*; they do not make the interrogation sign in the same manner; the scribe of the *Translatio* makes abundant use of supra-script *a* and forms it in a peculiar way, whereas the scribe of the *Vita* does not use it at all, etc. The fact that the whole work is not by the same hand is already sufficient by itself to bring the autograph nature of the manuscript in doubt.

[1] The biography of *Cod. Cas.* 361 corresponds to c. 46 of the *Liber Illustrium Virorum Cenobii Casinensis*. Fol. 71[r] is reproduced in *Sexti Julii Frontini de Aquaeductu Urbis Fomae* (Monte Cassino, 1930). See also Pl. I *infra*. For the printed text cf. ed. J. B. Marus (Lutet. Paris, 1666), reprinted in *Pat. Lat.* 173, 1048-1050. It should be noted that the text of J. B. Marus, and of all the editions which derive from it, is defective. No facsimiles of the biography of *Cod. Cas.* 257 have been published. The text has been edited in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, vol. v (Monte Cassino, 1894), *Florilegium*, pp. 51-2. Photographs of this second biography were examined in preparation for this article. I should like to take this occasion of expressing my thanks to Dom Ambrogio Mancone, Librarian of Monte Cassino, for providing me with these and with numerous other photographs of the Cassinese manuscripts mentioned in note [4] on p. 115 and for obtaining permission for me to reproduce some of them here.

[2] By one item is meant all that is grouped under one heading in the catalogues. Thus, for example, "de festivitate beati Marci sermones octo" is here counted as one item. A thorough study of the contents of these catalogues will be made by Professor H. Bloch in his forthcoming book, "Petrus Diaconus of Monte Cassino and the Revival of Roman History in the Middle Ages": cf., by the same author, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, iii (1946), p. 166, n. 4.

order on the blank page. At least four groups of entries can be easily distinguished. The first, containing twenty-eight items, seems to be contemporary with the short biography which precedes it, and indeed with the whole of the *Liber de Viris Illustribus Casinensibus* of which it forms part. Then come two entries in a slightly smaller script (n. 29-30). A further group (n. 31-40), written once more in larger letters, does not use the original inner-bounding line of the previous sections but one which is rather further from the inside of the page.[1] This same bounding-line is again followed by the last group (n. 41-50) written in a much darker ink and whose script is less on a slant than that of the previous one.[2] In *Cod. Cas.* 257 the major part of the catalogue (n. 1-65) appears to have been written all at one time, but the last three items (n. 66-8), occupying the four last lines of the text on page 31, were added later by the same hand, but using a thinner pen and a slightly darker ink.[3] The main section of this catalogue (n. 1-65) includes the works mentioned in the list of *Cod. Cas.* 361 but not always in the same order. An effort has been made to render the grouping more homogeneous. Thus, for example, the *Vita Sci. Severi* (n. 27) and the *Vita Sci. Constantii* (n. 45) of list one now occur together with the other lives of saints at the beginning of list two. Eighteen new items come in this second list. The two manuscripts themselves contain thirty-five of the works mentioned in the final catalogue, and all these works are written by the same hand which wrote the biographies.

In the face of this evidence it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the writing of the biographies and catalogues is the

[1] The inner margin has four vertical bounding-lines, the outer margin two. If numbered in continuous order from the inside of the page one can say that group I keeps to line 1 but generally oversteps line 6; group II keeps to lines 1 and 6; group III to lines 2 and 5; group IV to lines 2 and 6.

[2] It could be argued that the last entry: "Cantus beati marci composuit", —and possibly the one which precedes it (n. 49)—is a separate addition since the ink in which it is written appears to be much lighter than that of group IV. The phrase on the last line "et sanctorum Nicandri et Marciani" which completes this entry is by a different hand.

[3] Cf. *Biblioth. Casinensis*, vol. v, p. 12: "Ultimae lineae incipiendo a verbis *Ystoriam gentis Troiane* nigriori atramento quamvis eadem manu, non tamen eodem tempora scriptae sunt."

work of the author himself. The successive additions, always by the same hand, make it difficult to find another explanation. And since Peter is the author and the works are in ordinary minuscule we have very sound proof that he did in fact write in this script. The folios on which the autobiographies—for this is in fact what they are—occur can therefore be taken as a criterion for judging what is written by his hand.[1]

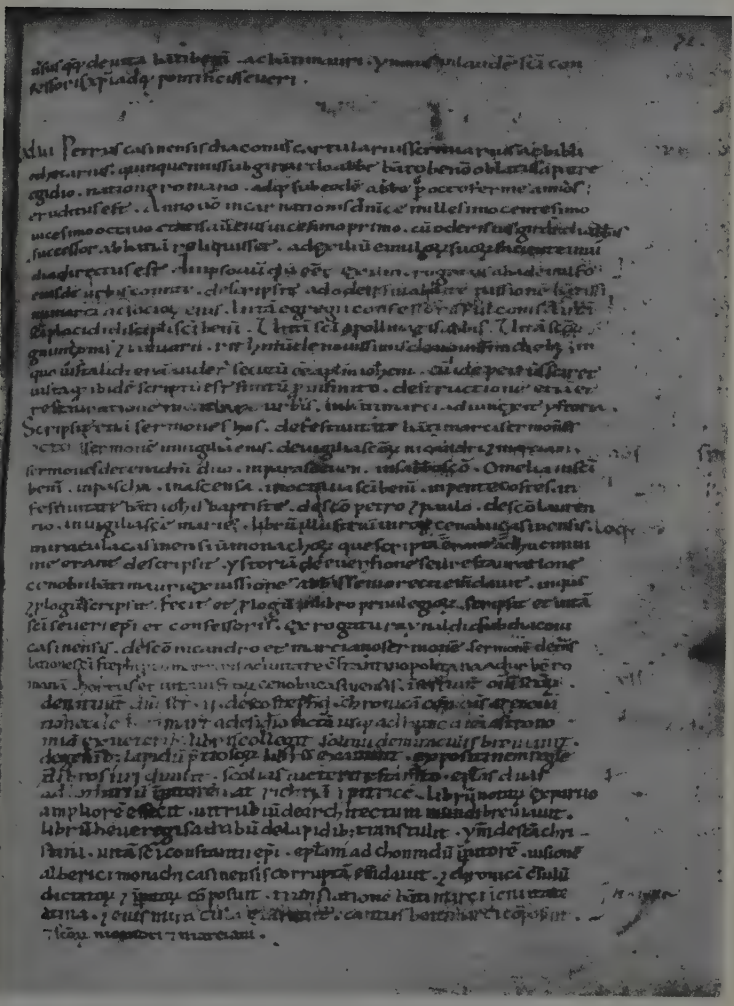
A further proof can be adduced to strengthen this conclusion. E. Caspar, in his monograph on Peter the Deacon, has pointed out how much Peter likes to boast of his connection with the house of Tusculum.[2] At the beginning of *Cod. Cas.* 257 there is a catalogue of Popes. The catalogue itself is not by Peter's hand, but several additions have been made opposite the names of Popes who belonged to the house of Tusculum to indicate this fact and these additions are by the same hand which wrote the two biographies.[3] This further confirms the conclusion we had already drawn that they are due to Peter's pen.

We can now turn our attention to the script itself. What are its outstanding characteristics? The first impression which it leaves can best be given in Caspar's words. He describes the writing as " eine kleine breite, in der Linienführung nicht ganz

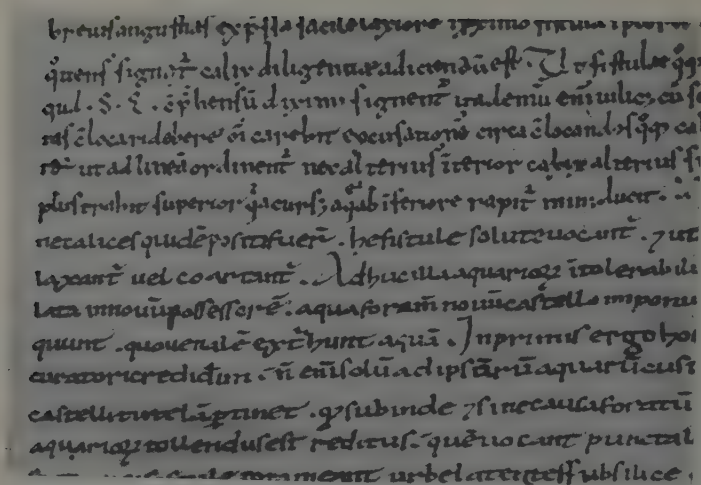
[1] Not all that is written by Peter's hand is mentioned in his catalogues. He makes no allusion to the transcriptions of Frontinus, Varro, and Vegetius, no doubt because they were only transcriptions and could hardly be considered as his " works ", yet they must be included among the list of autographs together with the additions he made to the catalogues of Popes and Abbots found at the beginning of *Cod. Cas.* 257. A word should here be added concerning *Cod. Matrit.* A 16. K. Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus* (= *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters.* Bd. III, Heft 4 Munich, 1908, p. 7) speaks of this twelfth century manuscript in Caroline minuscule and of Cassinese origin as " aus der Zeit und dem Kreise, vielleicht aus der Hand des Petrus Diaconus ". This suggestion is repeated and used by H. Klewitz in his study of the Munich manuscript of the Cassinese Chronicle (cf. *Archiv fur Urkund. Forsch.*, xiv. 428 and 430). But this manuscript cannot be an autograph of Peter for it is written by a trained scribe with a system of abbreviations different in important particulars from his ; e.g. use of semi-colon for *-que*, open *r* for *-orum*, etc.

[2] Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, pp. 22-3.

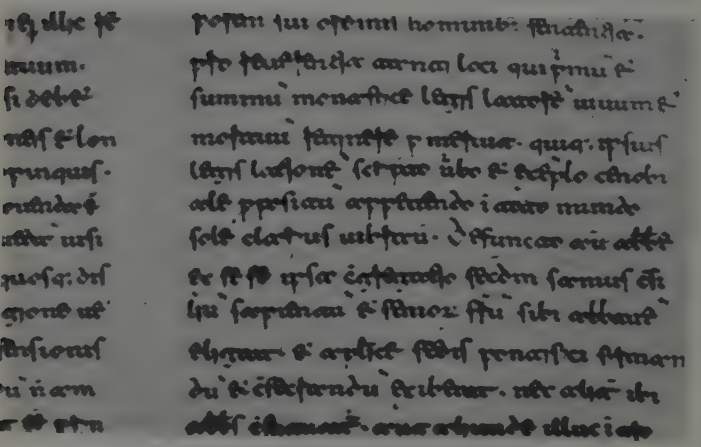
[3] These additions again occur in the final edition of the *Chronicon Casinense* (*Cod. Cas.* 450). It is the presence of these references in this edition together with the allusions to Atina which are the most conclusive proof that Peter did to some extent revise the first three Books of the Chronicle.



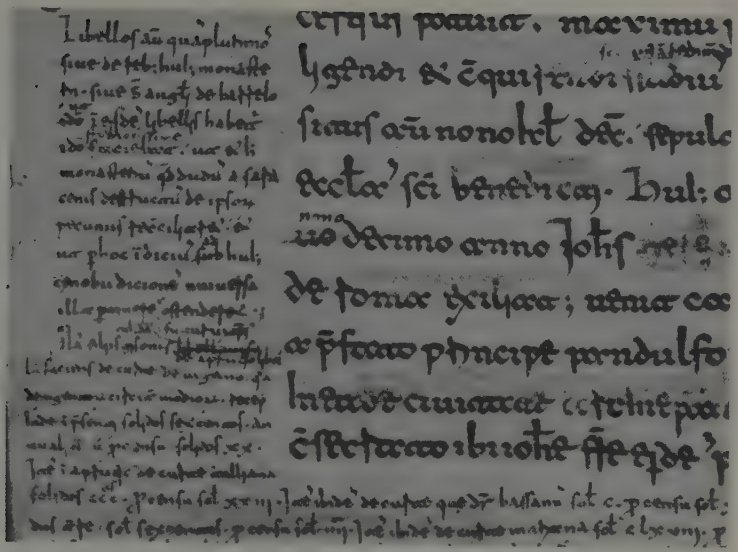
COD. CAS. 361, fol. 71r; the first autobiography. Autograph of Peter the Deacon. c. 1134-38.



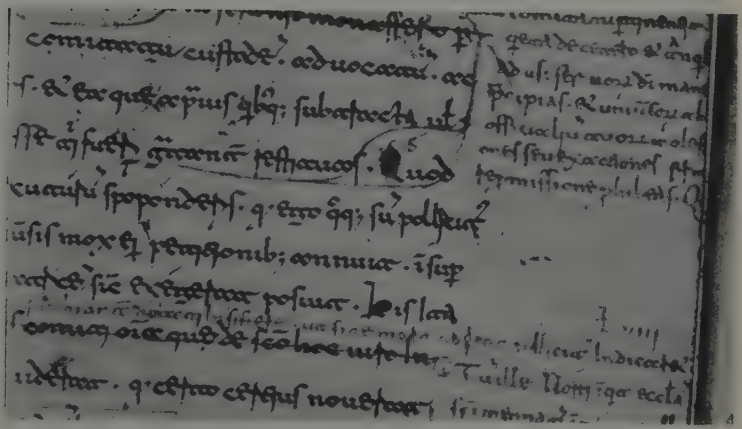
a) COD. CAS. 361, from fol. 31v (*Frontinus*),
l. 1–6 by hand B (cf. p. 125 and n. 1.).
l. 7–14 by Peter the Deacon. c. 1132–33



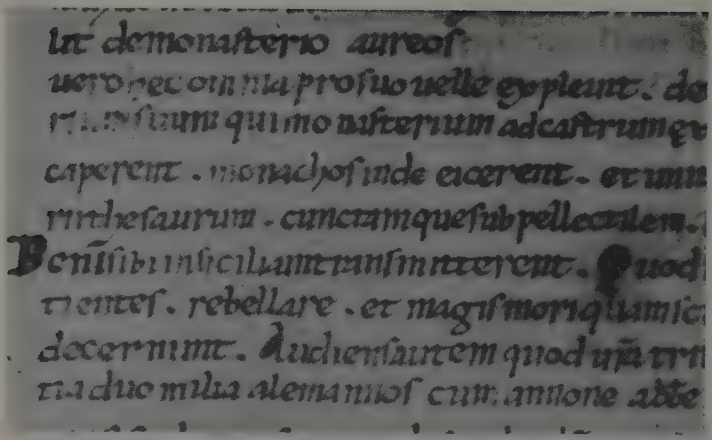
b) The REGISTRUM PETRI DIACONI, from fol. 19r.



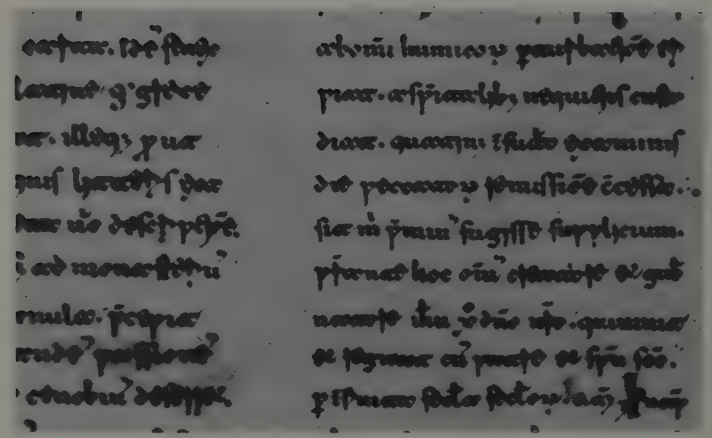
a) Munich, COD. LAT. MONAC. 4623 (*Chronicon Casinense*), from fol. 134v.



b) COD. CAS. 413 (*Translatio S. Mennatis*), from fol. 133r.



a) COD. CAS. 257. Autograph of Peter the Deacon. *post* 1137: from p. 111 (*Epistola II Guibaldi ad Lotharium*).



b) COD. CAS. 518 THE REGISTRUM S. PLACIDI, from fol. 61r.

sichere, etwas hastige und unsorgfältige Minuskel des 12. Jahrhunderts ".[1] Professor Willard's phrase " an uneven ordinary minuscule " is more terse but still very much to the point.[2] An uneven or irregular minuscule is not, however, a particular class of the minuscule family and these comments can be put equivalently by saying that the writing does not seem to be due to the disciplined hand of a trained scribe.[3] A certain improvement is noticeable in some of the later works but it remains that on the basis of the minuscule manuscripts alone we should have to conclude that Peter the Deacon could not write very well.[4]

So much for a general impression. We must now analyse the script more closely. It is minuscule but of a peculiar kind. It has, to quote a reliable authority in these matters, " einen eigenartigen Charakter ",[5] a flavour that is all its own. This makes it relatively easy to single out the features that go to constitute its individuality. The twenty-six sides of *Cod. Cas.* 361 reproduced in Dom Maurus Inguanez' edition *Sexti Julii Frontini De Aquaeductu Urbis Romae* (Editio Phototypica, Monte Cassino, 1930) form the main basis for the following remarks. They include not only the transcriptions of Frontinus (fols. 22^r-$33)^r$ and of a fragment of Varro (fols. 33^r-34^r) which are by

[1] Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, p. 19. [2] *Casinensia*, i 304, n. 1.

[3] In a letter to the present writer Dr. Lowe also stated that in his opinion the hand of *Cod. Cas.* 361 could not be considered expert and disciplined. This point is of fundamental importance for a comparison with the Beneventan manuscripts which are attributed to Peter.

[4] An evolution is noticeable between the script of the earlier and of the later works. A more complete study of the manuscripts themselves would be necessary in order to trace the different stages of this progress and it would prove of importance for helping to date the various works. After 1137 the writing becomes less cramped, the letters broader and better shaped, the abbreviation signs more carefully made. To a certain extent these differences can already be observed between the first two and the last two groups of entries in the autobiography of *Cod. Cas.* 361. But the contrast is best seen when one compares some pages of *Cod. Cas.* 257 with the transcriptions from the classical authors in *Cod. Cas.* 361 which must be among Peter's earliest works.

[5] Dr. Franz Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie* (2nd edn., Trier, 1909), Plate, n. 79 b, where fol. 30^r of *Cod. Cas.* 361 is reproduced. The short commentary which accompanies this facsimile is of great interest since Dr. Steffens seems only to have known this one page of the manuscript and does not appear to have been aware of the identity of the scribe with Peter the Deacon.

Peter, but also the dedicatory preface to abbot Guibaldus (1137) of his *De Locis Sanctis* (fol. 34[r]) and the page on which the first autobiography was written (fol.71[r]). If we discount the few lines in the transcriptions—there are 54 in all—which are due to other hands, this leaves us with a total of over 1,200 lines written by Peter himself, an ample foundation on which to base a judgement concerning the qualities of his script.[1] Photographs of twenty-four more pages, taken from *Cod. Cas.* 361 and 257 and comprising works written at different periods, were also examined to try to ascertain what constitute the most constant elements of the handwriting. Only points that are quite easily observable have been chosen in the following analysis.

(1) Uncial *a* is the rule in the Caroline minuscule of the twelfth century. Despite the variety of shapes that it can acquire at the hand of different scribes its basic pattern does not change in that the left-hand bow which is joined to the oblique downward stroke always begins below the top of this stroke ( ). The degree of slant on the oblique stroke may vary as well as the distance between the top of this stroke and the place where the bow begins, but it is not frequent to find that both the top of the oblique stroke and that of the bow coincide ( ). For Peter, however, this last shape is the rule. He always makes it, save when the letter begins a word or when it follows on *t* or *e*, but even here his more usual form often occurs. This letter can therefore be considered as one of the characteristic elements of his script.

(2) The way in which the letter *h* is made is also one of its distinctive features, for the stroke which forms the arch in this letter is invariably taken in a flourish below, sometimes well below, the baseline and normally turned inward ( ). This is the case whether the letter begins a word or not.

(3) The lower bow in the letter *g* is always closed ( ).

[1] A facsimile edition of the Frontinus transcription alone (i.e. fols. 22[r]-33[r] of *Cod. Cas.* 361) is also available in C. Herschel, *Frontinus and the Water supply of the City of Rome* (Boston, 1899, 2nd edn. 1913). A reproduction of p. 108 of *Cod. Cas.* 257 will be found in Piscicelli-Taeggi, *Paleografia Artistica di Monte Cassino* (Mont Cassino, 1876), Latino, Tav. lxii. Cf. also the facsimiles accompanying this article: Pl. I; Pl. IIa; Pl. IVa.

(4) Capital *Q* formed as is also a marked and constant feature. Peter throughout his works seems to know of no other way of making this letter.

(5) The abbreviations in particular are well worth noting. is always used for *quod*. This abbreviation is not unknown to Beneventan script which prefers, however, the use of or .[1]

(6) The abbreviation for *-orum* must also be singled out. It is quite common in most scripts of the period. Usually we find it written thus : , with the bow of the *r* descending to the base line, an open space being left between it and the *o*. A few scribes, however, completely close the bow and write .[2] It is this latter form which Peter invariably employs.

(7) His abbreviation for final *-us* is the semi-colon but he has a peculiar way of making the comma (;) with a little flourish that is all his own. "Mit . . einem grossen eckigen Komma" is Dr. Steffens' remark on this point.

(8) The use of the semi-colon also for *-que* is the general rule in Beneventan but is also frequently found in the minuscule of the period. Peter uses the comma by itself for this abbreviation ( ). It is never very elegantly made and often both ends of the comma rest on the shaft of the *q* giving the letter the appearance of a *p* and *q* all in one : .

(9) The tironian symbol, resembling an arabic seven (7) is made for *et*. Such at least seems to be what Peter intends, though more often than not it acquires a shape very much like

[1] Even in Beneventan a few scribes will adhere continuously to for *quod*, as, for instance, the scribe of the main text of the *Translatio S. Mennatis* in *Cod. Cas.* 413 (cf. p. 117, n. 2 *supra*). But this is the exception rather than the rule.

[2] E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 146, says that : "The upper bow of uncial 'r' is sometimes open, sometimes closed." If the plates in *Scriptura Beneventana* can be taken as representative of the script as a whole, then it would seem that the open bow is the rule, the closed bow rather the exception. It is curious that neither form occurs in the plates of vol. i (save the open form once, Pl. XIII in the Calendar of *Casanat.* 641 where it appears to be a later addition : "Nat. Scorum apostolorum etc. . . . "). In the plates of vol. ii the open bow is very frequently found, the closed bow rarely. (Cf. Pls. LXIV, LXXXV, C.)

an unfinished eight (2). We sometimes find it within a word and always with capital or small *s* for *set*, *set et* (Sꝫ ſꝫ).

(10) Peter's abbreviation for final *-ur* (and sometimes for *er* within a word) is ~, which may be his own adaptation of the usual Beneventan (ꝛ) symbol for this ending.

(11) The sign for contractions and suspensions should also be mentioned, seeing that it is of some importance as a help for dating Peter's works. In the earlier works it usually takes the form of a short horizontal strcke with the end slightly raised (- ⁀). In the later works the stroke is more undulated (~) and often is indistinguishable from the *-ur* abbreviation.[1]

The above features are permanent ones and can be considered as those which best bring out the individual nature of the writing. When taken together they make it relatively easy to single out Peter's hand from any other. The orthographical peculiarities of the text do not strictly fall within the scope of this essay. A wider study of the two minuscule manuscripts would be necessary before a complete list could be drawn up. Yet it is worth pointing out that they do exist. Thus, for instance, Peter

[1] Without an extensive study of the two minuscule manuscripts it is difficult to assign a precise date for the change. No doubt it only took place gradually. The later form of the contraction sign is already found in the dedicatory preface of the *De Locis Sanctis* to abbot Guibaldus (1137) on fol. 34ʳ of *Cod. Cas.* 361. The earlier form of the sign, however, predominates in the work itself and goes to prove, together with the general character of the writing, which is more cramped, that the transcriptions from Bede and from the *Itinerarium Eucheriae* which make up this "work" must have been written a considerable time before 1137. They very probably belong to the same period as the other transcriptions of Frontinus and Varro. Another instance where the difference between the earlier and the later form of the contraction sign is easily observable is on page 154 of *Cod. Cas.* 361 in his *Liber de Ortu et Obitu Justorum Coenobii Casinensis.* Here, as Caspar (*Petrus Diaconus*, p. 54 and n. 3) pointed out, Peter has erased a large passage of his earlier *Vita S. Placidi*, in order to bring it into line with the much later life by "Gordianus". Lines 25-38—there are fifty to the page—have been rewritten, and the contrast between the shape of the sign in the inserted portion and the rest of the page is very marked. Another point of importance in helping to date the works is the extra flourish given to the horizontal stroke in final *t*. This flourish is absent in the earliest works c. 1132-33 (cf. Pl. IIa); becomes very pronounced in those written c. 1134-36 (cf. Pl. I); and then tends again to disappear in those dating from c. 1137 (e.g. the preface of *De Locis Sanctis*) and after (cf. Pl. IVa).

writes *iusta* for *iuxta*, *set* for *sed*, *adque* for *atque* (this last mostly in his earlier works). Even these few taken in conjunction with the script we have just analysed will afford us a valuable basis for comparison with the Beneventan works to which we must now refer.

The Beneventan Manuscripts

We have already said that it is natural to suppose that Peter the Deacon was brought up from an early age on the Beneventan script. But however reasonable, *a priori*, such an hypothesis may seem, it is necessary to examine very carefully the data that may lend it support. What concrete evidence is there for asserting that Peter wrote Beneventan at all? Let us take first, by itself, the witness of his minuscule script. Its general appearance is decidedly not "of a Beneventan cast". This is a point which becomes very clear when we compare it, for instance, with the writing of *Cod. Cas.* 580, already mentioned above, or with some of the lines in the transcriptions of Frontinus and Varro that are not by Peter himself.[1] Here the script often shows a marked Beneventan influence. To a large extent the contrast is due to the basic *i* stroke of the Beneventan script which is quite lacking in Peter's work. Since this particular stroke is used in forming many other letters (*m*, *n*, *u*, *h*, *t*) it sets

[1] H. Willard, *Casinensia*, i. 304, n. 1, gives a very misleading description of *Cod. Cas.* 361. He says that: "The scribe (perhaps Peter himself . . .) employs an uneven ordinary minuscule; but on several occasions . . . *he* slips into a hand that is semi-Beneventan, using the characteristic heavy shouldered *r*, the raised *e* before *c* and after *t* etc. . . ." (The word in italic is ours.) It is evident, however, from a glance at the facsimiles that it is not Peter's hand which is lapsing into one which is semi-Beneventan. Several other hands besides Peter's, each with its own characteristics, have worked on the transcriptions of Frontinus and Varro. Altogether six can be distinguished: hand A (fol. 31^{r}, l. 1-8); hand B (fol. 31^{v}, l. 1-7); hand C (fol. 31^{v}, l. 30-35); hand D (fol. 33^{r}, l. 34-41); hand E (fol. 33^{v}, l. 26-34); hand F (fol. 33^{v}, l. 35-51). A, B, and E appear to be trained Beneventan hands, and it is mainly in the sections written by them that Beneventan traits most frequently occur. Of them it can truly be said that they are trying to write minuscule but "lapse" into the script with which, as is evident, they are most familiar. The other hands, C, D, and F, do not appear to be disciplined hands. In this they resemble Peter, as well as in the fact that minuscule elements predominate in their writing. Nevertheless, each of these scribes makes use of some Beneventan signs which are not to be found in Peter's own work. For example, F uses *i* longa seven times; C, D and F use Beneventan *et* and *-ur*. See Pl. IIa for a facsimile of hand B.

the pattern for the script as a whole. The Beneventan scribe gives this stroke the shape of two lozenges joined to each other and standing on end ( ). He always avoids making it as a simple perpendicular line ( ).[1] For Peter, however, the straight line is the rule. But there are more points of difference than this one. We find that some of the scribes who worked on the transcriptions, though they attempt to keep to the minuscule script, frequently lapse into making Beneventan letters and abbreviations. They also betray their Beneventan training by the use of such characteristic elements as *i* longa and elongated final *r*. Peter's minuscule is remarkably free from any such traits and it would be hard to find a single point of close contact with the Beneventan script in the twenty-six pages of the Frontinus edition we have analysed.[2]

In the light of such evidence one is very much inclined to conclude that Peter did not write Beneventan at all. If he did, he was able, to a quite phenomenal degree, to avoid betraying this fact, in any way, in his minuscule works. His minuscule works, taken by themselves, certainly do not warrant the conclusion that he used any other form of writing. We must now see whether the Beneventan manuscripts which have been attributed to him by historians allow us to take a different view.[3]

[1] Cf. E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, pp. 127-9 for a discussion of the basic importance of the *i* stroke in the Beneventan script. The list of contrasts between Peter's minuscule and Beneventan could be indefinitely prolonged simply by taking chapter 7 of Lowe's work, dealing with the morphology of the script, and comparing what is there said with the minuscule of *Cod. Cas.* 257 and 361. The divergence appears on all counts, whether it is on the question of the bow—the letter *o* in particular, which in Beneventan is lozenge-shaped, in Peter's minuscule is round—the upright and descending stems, the horizontal connecting stroke, etc. It is precisely on these points, i.e. the way " of attacking a letter", that the scribe of *Cod. Cas.* 580 shows such consistency throughout both portions of his work (cf. p. 115, n. 1 *supra*).

[2] Very occasionally Peter makes a Beneventan letter; e.g. a Beneventan *C* occurs on fol. 31^{r} (l. 21) and fol. 31^{v} (l. 24) of the Frontinus transcription. He was constantly using Beneventan works and must have been perfectly familiar with all the peculiarities of the script. But such isolated elements do not offer serious proof that he ever wrote continuously in Beneventan himself.

[3] It is perhaps worth pointing out that Peter the Deacon's name does not come in the list of Beneventan scribes given in c. 14 of *Beneventan Script*, pp. 320-33.

Let us first take the case of the marginal notes in the Munich manuscript of the Chronicle of Monte Cassino (*Cod. Monac. Lat.* 4623) and in the *Translatio Sancti Mennatis* of *Cod. Cas.* 413.[1] Even some of the most hurriedly jotted notes in the margins of both manuscripts preserve a regularity and evenness in the formation of the letters that can only be the work of a trained scribe. The letters and abbreviations throughout are in the purest Beneventan style. The following points will perhaps best bring out the contrast between the writing of the marginalia and that of Peter's minuscule works.

(1) One particularity of the marginalia is that they make frequent use of uncial *a*. But this letter never takes on the particular shape which it has in Peter's minuscule. The bow always begins well below the top of the oblique downward stroke ( ). (2) The arch-stroke in the letter *h* regularly stops at the base-line, the stroke being turned outward when it reaches the line ( ). (3) The lower bow of *g* is always open ( ), never closed. (4) The peculiar form of capital *Q* which Peter uses does not occur. (5) The more usual forms of abbreviation are used for *quod*; is very rarely found. (6) In the abbreviation for *-orum* a space is left between the *r* and the *o* ( ); the closed bow is never made. (7) The comma in the semi-colon for *-us* is neatly made and lacks the small flourish which Peter gives it in his minuscule. (8) The full semi-colon, and not merely the comma, is used for *-que*. (9) Beneventan *et* ( ) alone is found in the marginalia; never the sign Peter uses for this word.

[1] Facsimiles of the Munich manuscript (*Cod. Lat. Monac.* 4623) will be found in Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica, Denkmäler der Schreibkunst*, ser. i, fasc. X (Munich, 1903), Pl. 2 = fols. 98^{v}, 146^{r}, 154^{r}, 186^{r}; Arndt-Tangl, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie*, t. ii (4th edn., 1906) Pl. 38; E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), Pl. LXXVIII = fols. 85^{r}, 120^{v}, 162^{r}, 188^{r}. A microfilm of the entire manuscript was examined in order to ascertain whether any of the marginalia might be attributed to Peter's hand. The marginal notes added to the *Translatio S. Mennatis Cod. Cas.* 413 bear such a striking resemblance to those of the Munich manuscript that there is great probability they are by the same hand. (Cf. Pl. III a and b *supra*). It was this similarity, together with Klewitz's conclusion concerning the authorship of the Munich manuscript, which lead Fr. Baudouin de Gaiffier to attribute the marginalia of *Cod. Cas.* 413 to Peter the Deacon.

(10) The *-ur* symbol of the minuscule manuscripts is also completely lacking; only the ordinary Beneventan *-ur* sign occurs.

We are therefore faced with a deep and wide divergence, even if we confine ourselves to these few points, between Peter's minuscule and the Beneventan marginalia for which he is supposed to be responsible.[1] Although the main text of the Munich manuscript is likewise considered his, it is of set purpose that only the marginal notes have been chosen for a comparison since it is evident that they were written *currente calamo* without any undue attention to neatness or form. They abound in abbreviations and are therefore the place where 'scribal idiosyncrasies' would be most likely to appear. If we take the evidence objectively we are forced to conclude that the hand which wrote the minuscule of *Cod. Cas.* 257 and 361 cannot be the one that wrote the marginalia of these two Beneventan manuscripts. The evidence is sound and, on palaeographical grounds, hard to reject. The opposite conclusion would amount to an absurdity. We should have a writer giving different shapes to the same letter (*a*, *h*, *g*, *Q*), using different kinds of abbreviations, even different forms of the same abbreviation ( ) in the two scripts, for no apparent reason and always succeeding in keeping them quite distinct, never making the least slip. The conclusion that the marginalia are not by Peter would find yet further support in a study of the orthography. The Beneventan writer uses *iuxta*, *sed*, *atque*, to refer only to the

[1] Klewitz, in a note to his study of the Munich manuscript of the Chronicle (*Archiv für Urk. forsch.*, t. xiv, p. 446, n. 6), says that an argument for attributing the marginalia to Peter the Deacon can be drawn from the fact that they make some use of Caroline *d*. The validity of this argument may be doubted. E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 134, points out that Caroline *d* cannot be considered a foreign element in Beneventan script. "Some scribes show an exclusive preference for the Caroline form (cf. *Vat. Lat.* 3317). Where the preference is for the uncial form, there is a tendency to use the straight-shafted *d* in abbreviations (,) obviously because the vertical shaft is more adapted to the horizontal abbreviation stroke". It is precisely in the abbreviations that the marginalia of Munich *C.L.M.* 4623 and of *Cod. Cas.* 413 make an occasional use of Caroline *d*. To this should be added the fact that the shaft of the *d* is always much longer than it is in Peter's minuscule.

examples which we gave above. But there seems hardly need to stress the matter any further.

It is impossible to conceive the marginal notes of the Munich manuscript of the Chronicle otherwise than as the work of an author going over and over his text, correcting and recorrecting it as many as three or four times. The fact, therefore, that Peter the Deacon did not write these marginalia is sufficient to disprove some of the main conclusions which H. W. Klewitz and W. Smidt had drawn concerning his share in the early editions of the Cassinese Chronicle. The data cannot easily be explained by suggesting that Peter used a scribe to perform this work of correction. The conclusion that the work is not his need not, however, automatically mean a return to the positions adopted by Wattenbach and Chroust concerning the genesis of the chronicle. Much that the more recent historians have said would seem to be of lasting value. They have shown, and this may yet come to be considered the most permanent element of their investigations, that Leo of Ostia himself can hardly have been the one responsible for the successive changes made to the first draft of the chronicle. They concluded, perhaps too easily, that if this were so then Peter alone could be the one to have made them. On the basis of internal criticism, even apart from any palaeographic considerations, a stronger case could be presented for showing that the alterations to the text are not due to Peter than for showing that they are. It must be remembered that no less than thirty years stand between Leo's appointment to the see of Ostia (*c.* 1101) and the time when Peter as *bibliothecarius* comes on the scene (1131), and we know by name at least one of the chroniclers of the intervening period : Guido. The palaeographic evidence will only help to confirm what a more penetrating criticism of the materials which Smidt and more particularly Klewitz had in hand might already have shown.[1] But to enter any further into the question of the

[1] The trend in the more recent developments concerning the history of the *Chronicon Casinense* are no doubt in part due to the order in which the studies of W. Smidt appeared. It is not impossible that if his " Guido von Monte Cassino und die ' Fortsetzung ' der Chronik Leos durch Petrus Diaconus " in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931) had preceded the earlier essay

chronicle here would be out of place. It is sufficient to have shown that the last word on the history of this document has not yet been said.

We must now turn to the two Beneventan Registers, the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* and the *Registrum S. Placidi* (= *Cod. Cas.* 518), which historians have hitherto considered as Peter the Deacon's autographs.[1] His connection with both these volumes cannot be brought in doubt and the only real problem to be settled is whether it was he himself who wrote them or not. In the dedicatory preface to Abbot Seniorectus which opens the voluminous chartulary of Monte Cassino, Peter begins by recalling the obedience which had first been given him by his abbot: " injunxerat nobis jamdudum Pater tua reverende sagacitas, ut privilegia nostro coenobio a Romanis pontificibus facta volumine

" Über den Verfasser der drei letzten Redaktionen der Chronik Leos von Monte Cassino " in *Papsttum und Kaisertum, Kehr-Festschrift* (Munich, 1926) the whole problem would have been seen in a truer perspective. From the outset Smidt brought in Peter the Deacon as the only one who could be responsible for the changes made to the various editions of the chronicle. He confined his study, however, to the differences which existed between the first redaction (= Munich *CLM.* 4623—which he still considered as being Leo's) and *red.* 2, 3, and 4. Klewitz did no more than take this reasoning a step further by showing that similar differences were perceptible between the main text and the marginalia of the Munich manuscript. Peter the Deacon, he concluded, must also here have been at work. Klewitz failed to make a serious study of Peter's hand-writing in order to test the validity of his conclusion. His statement that part of the Munich manuscript was by Peter and part by Leo (cf. p. 115, n. 4. *supra*) certainly comes as a surprise in view of the fact that Wattenbach, Chroust, and E. A. Lowe had all clearly pointed out that the manuscript was in major part palimpsest (fols. 85-161^{v}) without any variation in the primary text (9 lines to the page). This obliges one to hold that it all belongs to the same period, whatever that may be, and the consequences of this fact for the history of the chronicle are quite considerable. Further, the data contained in Smidt's article on Guido were never sufficiently taken into account. One of the proofs put forward by Klewitz (p. 427 f.) for assigning the authorship of the marginalia to Peter is based on their connection with Peter's *Liber Illustrium Virorum Coenobii Casinensis.* But this is to forget that, on Peter's own admission, this is a work which he took over from Guido (cf. Smidt, *Guido*, pp. 302 ff.). The links between both works could point as well to Guido's authorship as to that of Peter. The evidence, at any rate, shows that it becomes necessary to proceed with great caution. These are only a few considerations concerning what is a very complex problem. The whole ground covered by Smidt and Klewitz will need to be gone over once more in the light of the conclusions we have reached about Peter the Deacon's handwriting.

[1] Cf. p. 115, n. 4. *supra.*

sub uno describerem."[1] Seniorectus had later repeated his command, this time amplifying it to include all the privileges and donations which the abbey possessed: "volo simul et jubeo ut privilegia pontificum, praecepta imperatorum, regum, ducum ac principum, necnon oblationes quorumcumque fidelium in uno describantur volumine." After mentioning the difficulties of the undertaking and underlining the help which Leo of Ostia's chronicle had provided for the section on the *oblationes*, Peter gives the division of his work: "In sex porro decisiones librum statui dividere istum; in privilegiis, in praeceptis, in oblationibus, in libellis, in renunciis, in sacramentis." These statements, taken by themselves, leave one with the impression that it was he who wrote the whole work. Yet some caution is necessary here, for in both the autobiographies only the preface of the *Registrum* is mentioned as his: "Fecit et prologum in libro privilegiorum."[2] That is all. There is no direct allusion to the *Registrum* itself as there is, for instance, to the long commentary on the Rule which he did write himself: "Expositionem super Regulam Sci. Benedicti componens in libros quatuor divisit."[3] The contrast is rather striking, for modesty is not one

[1] The preface to the *Registrum* was edited by Gattola, *Accessiones ad Historiam Abbatiae Cassinensis*, i. 22 and again by Wattenbach in his introduction to the *Chronicon Casinense* (*Mon. Ger. Hist. Scriptores*, vii. 567-8). It is evident at a glance that this preface is based on the preface to Leo's chronicle (*M.G.H.* SS., vii. 574-6). Oderisius had first asked Leo to write the history of Desiderius and then told him to begin a chronicle including all the other abbots of Monte Cassino. Likewise Seniorectus first commands Peter to unite together the papal privileges and later tells him to include all the other documents. In these circumstances it is difficult to discern what is historical truth from what is merely literary artifice in Peter's words.

[2] *P.L.* 173, 1049. The text of all the printed editions deriving from that of J. B. Marus reads: "Fecit et prologum in libros Privilegiorum ex rogatu Raynaldi subdiaconi Casinensis." There is no mention of Raynaldus in any of the autobiographies. The quotation above is from fol. 71[r] of *Cod. Cas.* 361. This item (n. 26) comes in the first group of entries (cf. p. 119 *supra*) and is followed by the mention of the *Vita S. Severi.* (n. 27) which was written about A.D. 1135. It would therefore seem that the preface to the *Registrum* was composed before this date. Since the preface seems to imply the completion of the *Registrum* itself, this indication may furnish a valuable clue for helping to date the Chartulary (cf. p. 134, n. 1. *infra*).

[3] *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, v, *Florilegium*, 52 = the second autobiography of *Cod. Cas.* 257.

of our author's outstanding virtues. He is not the man to hide his share in a work when there is no special reason for doing so. On the contrary, " nonnumquam res suas nimium refert " is Mabillon's judgement on him.

What force then must be given to the expressions from the preface to the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* quoted above? It should be remembered that phrases like " statui dividere ", " ut . . volumine sub uno describerem " need not necessarily imply the calligraphic work that goes to the making of a volume. An interesting parallel is furnished by the *Registrum* of the abbey of Saint Clement of Casauria. Towards the end of the work, John Berardus, the author of this Chartulary-Chronicle, alludes to the renewal of the abbey library which took place under Abbot Leonas (1155-82). The writing of the chartulary belongs to this period and here is the manner in which the author refers to it: " Hunc quoque Librum Instrumentorum seu Chronicorum, quem ego Frater Johannes composui et ordinavi et Magister Rusticus scripsit, ipso (i.e. Abbot Leonas) permittente, imo jubente ac adminiculante, perfecimus."[1] Had John Berardus failed to tell us the share of Magister Rusticus we might easily have concluded, in view of the terms he uses, that the whole work was his.

The *Registrum S. Placidi* is not mentioned in Peter's autobiographies. This is most probably due to the fact that it is one of the later works and that the catalogue of *Cod. Cas.* 257 was never fully completed or brought up to date. The omission can hardly be considered intentional since Peter does not seem to have wanted to hide the share which he had in preparing this volume. In the short chronicle which he added to the life of S. Placid by *Gordianus* he tells us how this *Vita* eventually found its way from the East to Monte Cassino and how on receiving it Abbot Raynaldus " nostre exiguitati contradidit precipiens, ut diligentius illam emendans futuris generationibus habendam contraderem ".[2] There is no mention of this work of emendation in the catalogues since the *Vita S. Placidi* referred to there is the one now contained in the *Liber de Ortu et Obitu justorum*

[1] Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, ii, pt. 2, col. 914.
[2] Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, p. 64, n. 4.

Cenobii Casinensis. We have therefore not got the means, as in the case of the *Registrum Petri Diaconi*, of using the autobiographies as a check on the expressions which we find in the *Registrum S. Placidi* itself, and a phrase like the one just quoted might again lead us to believe that it was Peter who wrote the work himself. A final solution to the problem set by both Registers can only be reached by comparing closely the script of these volumes with the minuscule writing which we know for certain to be his. Such a comparison will reveal in each case that, whatever responsibility Peter may have for the material contained in these works, it was not he himself who wrote them.

Both the Beneventan volumes are finished products of the scriptorium, "Reinschriften" as H. W. Klewitz terms them.[1] This necessarily means that the basis for a comparison with the minuscule is somewhat narrower than in the case of the Beneventan marginalia, which abound in abbreviations. In the two Registers these are more rare. Yet there does remain sufficient ground to bring out the divergence between the script in both series of works.[2] The first difference results from the fact that both the Beneventan manuscripts are written by highly trained scribes. This is perhaps the most fundamental point. Peter's minuscule shows that his hand was not trained. It is difficult to conceive that the hand which wrote out the transcriptions of Frontinus and Varro in *Cod. Cas.* 361 could at the same time have been responsible for the beautiful and regular script of the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* which is contemporary with them. To this must also be added the fact that there is not the least trace of a minuscule influence in the Beneventan writing. It is in the purest Beneventan tradition. In the large Chartulary, in particular, the *i* stroke is very pronounced. With the exception of the remark concerning uncial *a*—which does not occur—nearly all the points of difference noted above on page 127 between the marginalia and the minuscule could be repeated

[1] *Archiv für Urkund. Forsch.*, t. xiv (1936), 446.

[2] A reproduction of fol. 79^{r} of the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* is given in Piscicelli-Taeggi, *Paleografia artistica di Monte Cas., Longobardo Cassinese*, Tav. xlix. Photographs of eight folios of this *Registrum* and of twelve from the *Reg. S. Placidi* were examined in preparing this article. Facsimiles of these two manuscripts are given on Pl. IIb and Pl. IVb. *supra.*

here. What was there said about the letters *h*, *g*, *Q*, about the abbreviations for *-orum*, *-us*, *-que*, *-ur* and *et*, also holds for the two Beneventan Registers. The abbreviation for *quod* is occasionally found in the Beneventan manuscripts, but this is not unusual, and the stem of the *ℊ* always ends with the "oblique hair-line going from right to left", which is never the case in Peter's work. So that once more the conclusion that Peter the Deacon did not himself write these two Beneventan Registers is the only one that adequately fits the facts.[1]

[1] The links between Peter the Deacon and both the Beneventan Registers cannot be doubted. It seems also certain that he is responsible for most, if not all, the contents of the *Reg. S. Placidi*. But the extent of his connection with the *Registrum* which bears his name is a problem that would need very careful investigation. Reasons are not wanting for thinking that here again we have a case where Peter took over, completed and "edited" a work begun by one of his predecessors. Two main points can be advanced in favour of such a view. The first concerns the chronology of Peter's works. The recent study of Professor H. Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus and the Glanfeuil forgeries of Peter the Deacon" in *Traditio*, viii (1952), 159-264 proves to be of vital importance for the history of the *Registrum*. From the way in which these forgeries, written early in 1133, are entered in the Chartulary—the Bull of Urban II (1097) after the section on papal privileges which closes with Calixtus II (1120), the other forgeries right at the end of the volume on fols. 253-4—it is clear that the major part of the *Registrum* had already been completed by the middle of 1133. (Cf. H. Bloch, p. 182, n. 98; p. 195, n. 156; p. 225, introd. to n. 4; p. 229, introd. to n. 5.) When we remember that Peter went into exile in 1128 (*P.L.* 173, 1049), was absent for over three years from Monte Cassino ("e qua per tempus, tempora et dimidium temporis absens fueram", *Prolog. in Vitam S. Apollinaris*, P.L. 173, 1081) and did not begin his activity as 'bibliothecarius' until his return (*c.* 1131-2), it becomes extremely unlikely that the large *Registrum*, together with the great amount of research in the archives which it involved, could have been accomplished in under two years. To this must be added, as a second point, the evidence of a document contained in the *Registrum* itself and published by Gattola in his *Historia Abbatiae Casin.* (i. 54-6). This document relates the part played by Leo of Ostia in the last decade of the eleventh century, and especially in the year 1098 at Beneventum and Bari, in the litigations concerning the right of Monte Cassino over the abbey of S. Sophia at Beneventum. It is clear that the author of this long memorandum is not Leo of Ostia himself. He begins by quoting an earlier memorandum on the subject by Leo ("Legitur in Psalmista . . . proclamationibus repetitum", *Gattula*, p. 54) explicitly stating that he is doing so, and then goes on to mention what had occurred 'novissime' at Beneventum and at the council of Bari (1098). Neither can the author of this document be Peter the Deacon since it is evident from the whole context and the terms used that the writer was himself an eyewitness of the incidents he is narrating ("nobis persuasum est", "nos responsa", "nos . . . consurgentes, gratias egimus",

We began this essay with the strange anomaly of an author making abundant use of two entirely different scripts. On examining the evidence more carefully we found that the proof for the autograph nature of the minuscule works was very strong. Peter the Deacon certainly did write in this script and most of his works have come down to us in this, their original, form. A closer study of the writing in the Beneventan works suggested that there were serious reasons for doubting whether they were really Peter's autographs at all.[1] Peter the Deacon's normal way of writing appears to be minuscule. There is no real proof that he ever used any other form of script. This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that one and the same scribe could command two such different scripts as Beneventan and ordinary minuscule. The example of the scribe of *Cod. Cas.* 580 is there to show that he could. How frequent such cases may have been and whether they were ever more than an exception is an open question. What is quite certain is that the autographs of Peter the Deacon cannot be cited as an instance of such a fact. But his autographs do still leave us with a very important problem, the presence of minuscule in a flourishing Beneventan centre. How must this be explained?

The following concluding remarks are put forward tentatively as a possible solution to the problem in the light of evidence we have met on the way. They may help to complete a little the picture given in chapter 5 of *The Beneventan Script*. Dr. Lowe admits that "after the twelfth century and also during that century, the ordinary minuscule may be said to assume the rôle

etc.). As the memorandum appears to have been drawn up for the express purpose of introducing the letter of Urban II to Anso (the then governor of Beneventum), which comes in its chronological place in the *Registrum*, it may be proof that parts of this work were already in existence long before Peter the Deacon comes on the scene. One must hope that an integral publication of the Chartulary will soon be possible, for only then may one expect to find a definitive solution to its history as well as to the intricate problem of its relations with the *Chronicon Casinense*.

[1] This conclusion raises the question of Peter's collaborators. Did he merely supply texts and "original" documents for the Beneventan scribes to copy out, or were others actively engaged in helping him to produce the "originals" themselves. A very minute study of the script in the surviving "originals" would be necessary before such a question could be answered.

of rival which, owing to the political and other circumstances, was destined to supplant the Beneventan ".[1] No precise date is here assigned as a terminus *a quo* for the change although it seems implied that it only took place late in the twelfth century. Peter's minuscule suggests that the struggle had already begun at the beginning of that century. Yet somehow it seems hard to believe that so soon after the high tide of Desiderian times a decline had set in.

There is a distinction that may here be usefully kept in mind. In making his analysis of the script of *Cod. Cas.* 361, Dr. Steffens remarked that the peculiar nature of the minuscule showed that it was due rather to the hand " eines Gelehrten als eines Kalligraphen ".[2] This is an interesting statement. Presumably in the twelfth century, as nowadays, not all the boys in the monastic school showed an inclination or a gift towards calligraphy. Was a uniform method of writing imposed on all or were the more promising pupils singled out to become trained scribes, the rest being allowed to do very much as they pleased ?[3] The real problem would then be at what period minuscule became the rival of Beneventan in the scriptorium itself ? It is not without significance that the *Registrum Petri Diaconi* and the *Registrum S. Placidi* are still written in Beneventan. The fact that Peter and some of his contemporaries, all, as far as we can judge from the evidence of *Cod. Cas.* 361, not great adepts at writing, use minuscule, does not necessarily prove that the sovereignty of the Beneventan script was seriously threatened. But it does seem to prove that it was recognized in their time that minuscule was the easier of the two scripts and had certain practical advantages over the more traditional manner of writing.

If such is really the case it would imply that a considerable amount of minuscule was being written at Monte Cassino at the time. This could best be explained by referring back to the

[1] *Beneventan Script*, p. 92.

[2] *Lateinische Paläographie*, commentary to Plate, n. 79 b.

[3] This is suggested by the heterogeneous nature of the script used by C, D, and F (cf. p. 125, n. 1. *supra*), the untrained hands who helped Peter in the transcriptions of Frontinus and Varro. The peculiarities of the other scribes (A, B, and E) are sufficiently explained by the fact that they are Beneventan scribes trying to write minuscule. These last show a consistency which the former do not.

great intellectual and artistic renaissance which had taken place under Desiderius. The Chronicle of Monte Cassino tells us how one of its effects had been that : " multi ex multis et extimis terrarum partibus huc coeperunt confluere, et hylariter Desiderio recipiente, factum est ut intra ipsum biennium [after the consecration of the basilica in 1071] ad secundum circiter centenarium congregationis loci hujus se numerus porrexisset."[1] No doubt many of the newcomers were skilled writers and not from the Beneventan zone. Was the abbey able to assimilate them all to its own cultural traditions ?

NOTE

Since writing the above essay I have had the opportunity to discuss thoroughly with Dr. E. A. Lowe some of the questions treated in it, in particular those concerning the relation of the script in *Cod. Cas.* 361 with the marginalia of Munich, *Cod. Lat. Monac.* 4623 and of *Cod. Cas.* 413. I should like to take this occasion of thanking Dr. Lowe once more for his great kindness in closely examining photos of the above manuscripts and also for his permission to give here his own views on the subject.

[1] III, 31 (*M.G.H.* SS., vii. 722). This passage from the Chronicle should be linked with the letter which Desiderius caused to be sent to Hartwig, abbot of Hersfeld (1072, Dec. 12—1085). The letter was first published by Mabillon in his *Vetera Analecta* (iv, pp. 462-4) from a text he had found " in operculo cujusdam codicis publicae bibliothecae Basileensis " (id. p. 458). Mabillon did not know to whom the letter was addressed and it seems clear that his manuscript must have lacked the superscription which the letter has in Oxford, Oriel. Cod. 42, fol. 219b (XIIs.—cf. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui*, etc., vol. i (1852), Col. Oriel. p. 16) and in Brit. Museum, Add. 22,633, fol. 154^{v} (XIIs.). Dummler, unaware of Mabillon's publication, edited the text from the British Museum manuscript in *Neues Archiv*, iii (1878), pp. 189-91. The passage which is of interest to us here is the following : " Verumtamen si in vestro perseverare volueritis desiderio [that is, in the desire to know more about Cassinese usages] nostrum qualecunque non displiceat consilium. Plerique nostre consuetudinis nostreque conversationis cupidi, de suis quem perspicatioris cognoscunt ingenii unum huc transmittunt ut non solum auditu verum etiam visu pro quibus mittitur perspiciat ; eoque modo quasi unus ex nobis hic, quidam per integrum annum, quidam etiam diutius manens, tandem omnibus perspectis ad sua certus cum gaudio redit. Hoc idem non ab re videtur nobis, si vobis placet, consilium —sic tamen, ut honori vestro consulentes, huius rei causa loci vestri tum etiam huius nostri commodo et honori provideatis " (*N.A.*, id. p. 190).

The conclusion that the hand which wrote the major part of *Cod. Cas.* 361—and which the data show to be that of Peter the Deacon himself—could not also have written the marginalia of the two Beneventan manuscripts is not only one he considers to be sound, but he finds it difficult to see what other conclusion can be drawn as far as the *palaeographic evidence* is concerned. For Dr. Lowe the fundamental point, deciding the issue, is the fact that the script of the marginalia is manifestly by a trained hand, that of *Cod. Cas.* 361 by a hand which is neither expert nor disciplined. This shows that the two series of works must have been due to different scribes.

I must also add that since this article went into type some unknown hagiographical works by Leo of Ostia have come to light. The evidence they throw on their author and his methods is new and unexpected, and is likely to prove of considerable importance for the history of *Chronicon Casinense.* In particular, it will now become a very delicate matter to decide whether it is really Guido and not Leo himself who is responsible for the marginalia of Munich, *Cod. Lat. Monac.* 4623, and consequently the suggestion put forward above (p. 129 and n. 1) may need to be modified. These new works will form the subject of a preliminary study by Father Paul Devos, S.J., Bollandist, and the present writer in a forthcoming number of the *Analecta Bollandiana.*

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WESTERN DESERT: III

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THE present article in this Western Desert archaeological series is divided into two parts, the first dealing with *The Temple-Tombs of Alexander the Great and his Palace in Rhacotis* and the second with *The Great Wall of the Libyan Desert*. Previous articles in the series appeared in the BULLETIN, XXXVI (September, 1953), pp. 128 ff., and XXXVI (March, 1954), pp. 484 ff.

I. THE TEMPLE-TOMBS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS PALACE IN RHACOTIS[1]

Alexander the Great died abroad, at Babylon (323 B.C.), and was buried abroad, although ancient custom decreed that the kings of Macedonia should always be buried at Aegae (Edessa) in Macedonia. Why was ancient custom not followed in Alexander's case? In obedience to the oracle of Zeus at Babylon, according to one account,[2] or in view of a promise

[1] Bibliographies to most of the classical and other sources used in this article (sources which by no means exhaust the subjects dealt with) will be found in the following publications: E. D. Clarke, *The Tomb of Alexander* (1805); G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne* (1897), pp. 43 ff. (includes extracts from an early Coptic manuscript); E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, English edn. (1922), pp. 96 ff.; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 408 (*Sema*)—the system of numbering of the Ptolemies adopted in this article is that proposed by Bevan; E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931* (1932), pp. 37 ff.; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei Nomi Geografici et Topografici dell' Egitto Greco-Romano* (1935), s.v. *Alexandria: Soma*; my notes in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 26 ff.; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University*, ii (1944), pp. 6 ff.; G. A. Voutopoulos, *L'Emplacement du Tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand*, Alexandria (1946); A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv (1948), pp. 1 ff.

[2] W. Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (1926), p. 145, lines 10 ff. For another oracle associated with the death of the king (an oracle which declared that

alleged to have been made by Ptolemy (one of Alexander's generals) to take the body to Egypt so that it should be buried there and become one of the gods of the country, according to still another account.[1] But more probably, as E. Bevan has suggested,[2] the custom was deviated from because Ptolemy, shortly to become satrap (323-305 B.C.) and finally Ptolemy I, Soter I of Egypt (305-282/3 B.C.), saw here an opportunity to enhance the prestige of Egypt by having Alexander's body in that country as "a fetish of extraordinary power over the minds of men". Whatever the reason, the body of Alexander was placed in a golden anthropoid coffin[3] adorned with royal insignia and wheeled in funeral procession to Memphis, to temporary burial there in a "temple-sepulchre"[4] (cf. the

Alexander's body should not be carried into the sanctuary of the so-called "Temple of Serapis" at Babylon but left where he died in his palace), see P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East* (1928), p. 60; W. N. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, i (1948), p. 120. Alexander's visit to the oracle of Amun in the Siwa Oasis is described by Ahmed Fakhry, *Siwa Oasis* (1944), pp. 35 ff. In some of the Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyûm a small entrance leads into a secret chamber inside the altar, a fact which indicates that a priest hid there in order to give the oracles. The altar would have been covered with a cloth during the time the priest was functioning.

[1] *Lucian*, i, p. 290, edn. Amstelod. Blaeu (cited by E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 49, n. (*b*)). Although the promise is mentioned in a legendary dialogue between Diogenes and Alexander it may possibly have had some foundation in fact. For details of the last days of Alexander, from the 15th to the 28 Daesios (13 June 323 B.C.), see P. Jouguet, op. cit. pp. 58 ff. The anniversary of the day of the death was kept in Alexandria as a holy day. A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 11. Other festivals in honour of the dead king are mentioned in P. Jouguet, op. cit. p. 361. For his deification, cf. E. D. Clarke, op. cit. pp. 9 ff., 48 ff., 119 ff.; G. Maspero, *Comment Alexandre devint Dieu en Égypte* (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Annuaire 1897); P. Jouguet, op. cit. pp. 288, 291 f.; W. N. Tarn, op. cit. i, pp. 43, 77; ii, pp. 347 ff. Royal persons were deified in pharaonic Egypt also. See my article in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (1939), pp. 37 ff.

[2] E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 19.

[3] Diodorus (xviii. 26) indicates that the coffin was anthropoid. See also Appendix to the present article.

[4] E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 20. A fragment of the Parian Marble (Bevan, op. cit. p. 19, n. 1 = *Athen. Mittheil.*, xxii, p. 187) confirms that the body was in the first instance deposited at Memphis. For sarcophagi and other remains of the Ptolemaic period in the Memphite Serapeum, near where Alexander may have been buried, see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., iii, pp. 214 f.

four-wheeled bier in Fig. 1, inset, below). The Memphis burial is mentioned by Pausanias who adds that Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (283-245 B.C.) transferred it to what was intended to be its

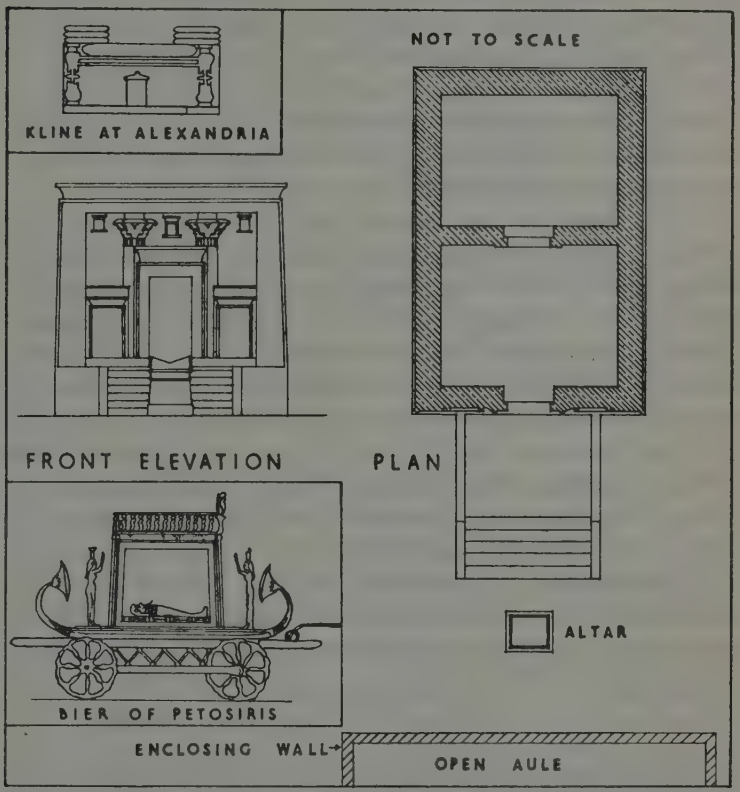

FIG. 1.—Suggested restoration of the *Soma* cult-temple showing plan and front elevation together with part of the open *aule* (cf. Fig. 2.). INSETS:—*Left, above:* A *kline* or bed-shaped sarcophagus in Ptolemaic tomb A at Chatby, Eastern Alexandria. After E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, ii (1912), Pl. V. In the centre of the side is sculptured a funerary stela; cf. the Cairo Museum stela in the shape of a distyle portico with angular pediment, in J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (1905), p. 57, Pl. IX, No. 9251. *Left, below:* Funerary bier of the *deified* priest Petosiris (tomb at Hermopolis West) who lived before, during, and after the reign of Alexander, for comparison with the wheeled bier of the great Macedonian, a suggested reconstruction of which is in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* (1905), pp. 698 ff., and figures (this reference from Dr. G. Zuntz of Manchester).

final resting place in Alexandria. Pseudo-Callisthenes is more explicit, for he says that the transferred burial took place "in the town which he (i.e. Alexander) hath founded at Rhacotis" and "in a tomb in the holy place called '*Soma* (*Sema*) of

Alexander' ".[1] Although Diodorus,[2] Strabo,[3] and Quintus Curtius [4] say that it was Ptolemy I who placed the burial in the Soma at Alexandria, it is pointed out by E. Bevan that " possibly this is the truth, and the fact behind the statement of Pausanias would then be simply that the body reposed for some years in Memphis, till the sepulchre at Alexandria was ready for it ".[5] We hope to show further on that the second burial was actually made in Rhacotis and that the burial-place of Alexander which was indicated by Strabo and Zenobius as being in Neapolis was actually a third and final one.

It has sometimes been argued that the body of Alexander was placed in the massive stone sarcophagus of the last native pharaoh, Nectanebo II (359-341 B.C.), found many years ago in Alexandria (see p. 150). In support of this view are adduced two details :[6] *first*, the popular belief fostered at the time that Alexander was either Nectanebo II returned rejuvenated to deliver his country from the Persians, or else the son of Nectanebo; *second*, the fact that Nectanebo died in Upper Egypt [7] and therefore could not have been buried in the sarcophagus originally intended for him. The vacant sarcophagus of the " father " was occupied by the son. The first detail derives from the untrue statement in *The Romance of Alexander* (Pseudo-Callisthenes).[8] The second detail does not lead to the conclusion suggested. Moreover, as the available evidence seems to indicate, the sarcophagus

[1] E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii (1902), p. 155; Strabo (edn. Loeb, viii, p. 34, n. 4, including remarks on *Soma* and *Sema*). For Rhacotis see Fig. 2. [2] xviii. 28. [3] xvii. 1, 8.

[4] *Cæterum corpus ejus a Ptolemæo, cui Ægyptus cesserat, Memphim ; et inde, paucis post annis, Alexandriam translatum est.* Quintus Curtius, pagina ultima (cited by E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 54, n. (o)).

[5] E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 19.

[6] A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv, p. 6.

[7] Diodorus says that Nectanebo fled to Nubia after his defeat in 343 B.C. On the contrary, Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1946), p. 584, point out that Nectanebo must have reigned in Upper Egypt for at least two more years. His subsequent fate is unknown.

[8] H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, iv, p. 191, n. 4; cf. also the reference in the footnote to an interesting hieroglyphic inscription of princess Ptolemais (?) who is stated to have been the daughter of Nectanebo I! A recent account of *The Romance of Alexander* is that of E. H. Haight, in *More Essays in Greek Romances* (1945). See also p. 143, n. 2, of the present article.

in which Alexander was buried was not of pharaonic type (see below).

Another sarcophagus which used wrongly to be attributed to Alexander (again this one is not of the type in which the king was buried) is that found in Sidon many years ago, and now in the Istanbul Museum. Its sides are adorned with scenes from the life of the king and it dates from the fourth century B.C.[1]

From Pausanias's statement that Alexander was buried according to Macedonian custom in Memphis,[2] it is reasonable to assume that he must have been buried according to the same custom in Alexandria. Analogy with contemporary usage at Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt suggests that the burial—with the golden coffin—would have been in an *underground* tomb with a sarcophagus shaped like a bed with pillows (*kline*)[3] and that there was a cult-temple above the tomb.[4] In view of its importance the whole complex would have been within a walled enclosure (*temenos*) that would separate it from the rest of the city.

Rubensohn[5] has drawn attention to the general similarity between the rock-cut *kline* tombs of Macedonia and Alexandria. In Macedonia the tombs consisted of two parts: an outer vestibule (*prostas*) and an inner burial chamber (*oikos*) containing the *kline*; the *oikos* was larger than the *prostas*. In Alexandria, however, the *prostas* was made larger than the *oikos* because it had to be furnished with a bench on either side for the mourners

[1] H. B. Walters, *A Classical Dictionary*, etc. (1916), p. 885, Fig. 470.

[2] Pausanias (i. 6. 3, edn. Loeb) actually says "with Macedonian rites". It was at Memphis, incidentally, that the Persian satrap Mazakes submitted to Alexander at the time of his conquest in 332 B.C. and delivered to him the garrison and the treasury of the town. Pseudo-Callisthenes (i. 34) says he was enthroned there, and that having seen in the local temple a statue of Nectanebo II, his "father" according to the *Romance*, he embraced it. E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii, pp. 143 f.; E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 3; Ahmed Fakhry, *Baharia Oasis*, ii (1950), p. 41 and bibliography in footnotes.

[3] E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 96; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 9. See Fig. 1, inset, in this article; *kline* from *oikos* of a Chatby tomb.

[4] Cf. also the cult-temple over the burial vaults of the Apis bulls at Memphis, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 793.

[5] *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 12, pp. 84 ff.; I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (1937), pp. 22 ff.

and occasionally with a central table and an altar.[1] Again there was another difference, for in Macedonia the body was placed upon the *kline*,[2] while in Alexandria it was deposited inside a hollowed out space specially cut in the " bed " for its reception. Also, at Alexandria, there was an open courtyard (*aule*)—*the only part of the tomb proper not underground ;* this was in front of the vestibule,[3] and in it was an altar as well as a cistern for providing water,[4] which, as may be assumed from the end of certain inscriptions found on altars in tombs at el-Gabbary (in ancient Necropolis), Alexandria, was for refreshing the soul of the dead through the help of Osiris : *KAI KATA ΓHC ΔωKEN ΨYXPON OCIPIC YΔωP.* This was actually the Second Formula of the Serapists.[5] At the upper level the courtyard was enclosed by a wall of masonry. A sloping, winding, covered-in stairway led down into a corner of the courtyard (cf. Fig. 2).[6] Not all these Alexandrian tombs, however, have a *kline*

[1] In Alexandria the Ptolemaic two-benched *prostas* as well as, no doubt, the benched Etruscan tomb, was the forerunner of the Roman funerary *triclinium* (hall with three benches). Ceremonial feasts were held in the *triclinium*, in memory of the dead, on the " Day of Roses ", the " Day of Violets ", the anniversary of the birthday of the deceased, and during the Roman " Feast of All Souls " (13-21 February), held publicly on the last day, the rest being reserved for private celebrations. Cf. the magnificent *triclinium* at Kôm el-Shukafa (" Mound of the Potsherds ") published in my article in *Bull. de la Soc. Royale d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 13 f., Pls. I, IV.

[2] In Etruscan tombs also bodies were placed upon rock-cut funerary beds, complete with pillows. H. B. Walters, *A Classical Dictionary* (1916), pp. 915 f. ; G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i (1878), p. 251, plate (cf. further the terra-cotta sarcophagus with reclining figures on its lid, op. cit. i, p. 227).

[3] For more information on Macedonian-Alexandrian tombs of the *kline* class, see I. Noshy, op. cit. pp. 20 ff., and bibliographies. The sequence of dating of the various tombs of this class in Alexandria is not yet absolutely certain.

[4] During the winter the cistern would have been filled by the rainwater which ran into the courtyard.

[5] G. Botti, *Catalogue des Monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain* (1900), pp. 503 f.

[6] For the stairway and other parts of this type of tomb, cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. III, Fig. 1 ; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 330, Fig. 246. The arrangement of the stairway together with the wall enclosing the top of the courtyard made it impossible for any unauthorized person to look straight into the tomb, and in this respect we are reminded of the ante-rooms screening the entrances to the inner sanctuaries of the Canaanite temples we found at Beth-Shan in Palestine. Cf. my *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940), pp. 7, 15, 24, 33.

sarcophagus, and some of the better preserved examples, originally beautifully decorated in colour on plaster, give some idea of the richer private houses of the period, for the house of the dead was usually fashioned like the house of the living. One such

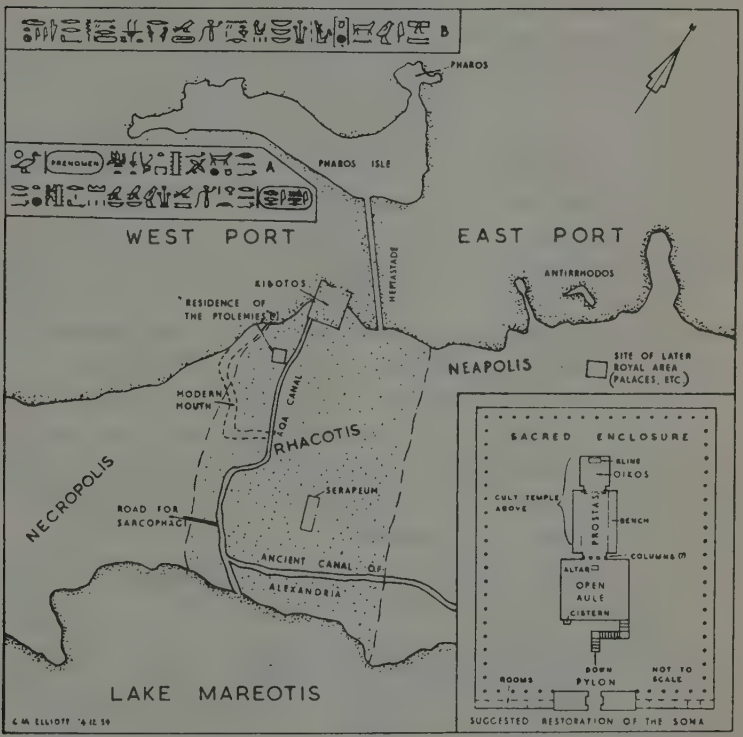

Fig. 2.—Map showing relative positions of Necropolis, Rhacotis with the Âqa Canal, and Neapolis. The older or Rhacotis tomb of Alexander was doubtless near the "Residence of the Ptolemies"; the later or Neapolis one was adjacent to the "Site of Later Royal Area". INSETS:—*Lower right:* Suggested restoration of the *Soma*. The underground parts are the stairway, *prostas* and *oikos*. A and B: Inscriptions mentioning the palace in Rhacotis, "A" dating from the time of Ptolemy the Satrap (311 B.C.) and "B" from the reign of Ptolemy XI (Auletes), (79-51 B.C.).

tomb, at Moustapha Pasha, in Eastern Alexandria, with a colonnade in front of the vestibule, reminds us also of a certain Hellenistic house with colonnaded courtyard at Priene.[1]

[1] For the Moustapha Pasha tomb (restored since publication), cf. A. Adriani, in *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain, 1933-1935* (1936). The Priene house is seen in M. and C. H. B. Quennell, *La Vie des Grecs d'Homère a Périclès* (1937), Fig. 123. It is important to note that the papyri indicate that the

In our suggested restoration of the actual rock-cut SEPULCHRE of the *Soma* in which the body of the king was placed after its arrival from Memphis (see Fig. 2) we have followed as far as possible the general arrangement of the Alexandrian type of "Macedonian" tombs just described.[1] This restoration shows the vaulted stairway leading down indirectly into the open court-yard (*aule*) complete with cistern and altar, the vaulted vestibule (*prostas*) with two benches and the supposed columns at its entrance, and, finally, the burial chamber (*oikos*), also vaulted, with bed-shaped sarcophagus (*kline*) at the rear.[2] Analogy with similar Alexandrian tombs suggests that the underground parts would have been covered with plaster, the *prostas* and *oikos* being coloured in imitation of ashlar stone-work or alabaster slabs. On the sides of the stairway would have been painted funerary scenes showing figures of the gods and of the deified king, while the *kline* would have been decorated in very rich colours.

The masonry CULT-TEMPLE of the *Soma* would have been situated on the rock surface over the *prostas* and *oikos*, and, as we hope to show, was Ptolemaic and not Greek in style, consisting essentially of a *pronaos* and a *naos*, without colonnaded peristyle.[3] These circumstances are suggested :

1. AT THE BAHRIA OASIS ; by the plan of the only known temple of Alexander the Great in Egypt, a rectangular two-roomed one,[4] and

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fourth-and-third century house of the Priene type, complete with *aule*, *prostas*, and *oikos* was known in Alexandria and Philadelphia. I. Noshy, op. cit. p. 59. Cf. also Schreiber-Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*, text vol. (1908), p. 161.

[1] Cf. E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, pp. 96 ff. ; A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, pp. 9, 11. I do not agree with these authorities that the cult-temple of the *Soma* had a colonnaded peristyle.

[2] The *oikos* was probably on a higher level than the *prostas*, and, as in the case of the Sûk el-Wardian tomb in Necropolis, would have been approached by a flight of steps. Cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. II.

[3] For *pharaonic* peripteral temples, cf. L. Borchardt, *Aegyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (1938) ; Baldwin Smith, *Egyptian Architecture and Cultural Expression* (1938), pp. 149-52, Pls. XLIII, XLIV.

[4] Ahmed Fakhry, in *Annales du Service* (1939), pp. 638 f. and Fig. 63 ; Ahmed Fakhry, *Bahria Oasis*, ii (1950), pp. 41 ff. and Fig. 29. The temple had no podium or entrance steps. Alexander had a sanctuary in the Temple of Amun at Karnak and a shrine in the Temple of Luxor. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., ii, pp. 44 f., 106.

2. At Hermopolis West in Upper Egypt; by the plan of certain Ptolemaic funerary chapels (e.g. Nos. 1, 2, 3 (?), 4),[1] also rectangular and two roomed, *erected over underground tombs or slot graves, all cut in the rock.*[2]

The front of the *pronaos* of chapels Nos. 1 and 4 has "sculptured" details in high relief representing the exterior part of the frame of its large entrance door, on either side of which are a column with capital and a rather low screen wall; above the door and each screen is a small window with stone-work meshed grille.[3] The front of No. 3 is similarly adorned, but is without windows, while that of No. 2 has no columns, screens or windows. A flight of steps leads up to a platform before the door of No. 1, and there is an altar before the steps (no altars are inside any of the chapels). There are other types of funerary chapels at Hermopolis West,[4] but as they do not generally conform to the

[1] Sami Gabra and others, *Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest* (1941), Pls. XIX, XX (chapel No. 1); XXI, XXII (No. 2); XXII (No. 3—not completely excavated at time of publication); and XXIV, XXV (No. 4).

[2] The temple of the *Soma* must evidently have been axial with the tomb; no such hard and fast arrangement was carried out in respect of the chapels and associated underground tombs at Hermopolis West. In both cases the height of the rock over the actual tomb assured a firm foundation for the superstructure.

[3] In the case of chapel No. 1 there is also an upper window in either side wall of the *pronaos* and *naos* as well as a niche in the inner face of the west wall of the *pronaos*. The position of the façade windows, immediately below the entablature, reminds one of the speculation, refuted by Vitruvius (IV, ii), that the triglyph of the Doric frieze was originally a window. My colleague Mr. Derek Buttle suggests that this late first-century B.C. speculation may, perhaps, be traced to the Egyptian practice here illustrated. Cf. further the columns, each two divided by a panel below a double door or shutter (one leaf partly open), all details "sculptured", in vestibule *d* of tomb A at Chatby. E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, ii (1912), Pl. II.

[4] One of these chapels, the *pronaos* of which is wider than the *naos*, was made for the *deified* priest Petosiris, who lived under the second Persian domination and through the reign of Alexander the Great, dying during the last years of Ptolemy I. G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, i (1924), p. 12, iii (1923), Pls. I ff.; Sami Gabra and others, op. cit. Pl. I. For the deification of the priest see my article in *Annales du Service* (1940), p. 34. His inner anthropoid coffin, which is of black varnished coniferous wood with carefully inlaid hieroglyphs of polychrome glass, is the best of its kind in the Cairo Museum. G. Lefebvre, op. cit. i, pp. 18 ff.; iii, Pl. LVII (coloured reproduction); his mummy on its four-wheeled bier is seen in iii, Pls. XXX, XXXIV (see Fig. 1, inset, in the present article; checked from a photograph lent to the writer in Alexandria). Among the rest of the chapels at Hermopolis West, recorded by Sami Gabra, op. cit. are: (A) *Chapel of Padykam.* Similar to that of Petosiris.—Pls. IV, V, VII.

simple type of two-roomed rectangular temple and chapels mentioned above, we have not considered them in connection with our attempt to restore the appearance of the cult-temple of the *Soma*. Taking everything into account (including the details of the general exterior appearance of Ptolemaic temples elsewhere),[1] we believe that the cult-temple of the *Soma* resembled chapel No. 1,[2] with its *pronaos*, *naos*, " sculptured " façade and other details. The cult-temple would have stood on a high podium (as does the chapel in question), a feature certainly necessary in its own case, so that the level of the bottom of the door of the cult-temple would be visible *above* that of the top of the enclosing wall of the upper part of the open *aule* of the *Soma*. Like chapel No. 1 also, it would have a flight of steps leading up to a platform before the door as well as an altar in front of the steps. The door would face the main gate of the *Soma*. (See our suggested restoration in Fig. 2, inset, p. 145.)

Certain other analogies to our restoration of the superstructure of the *Soma* complex are to be seen in a non-peripteral temple of Isis, evidently Alexandrian in style, at Pompeii.[3] The temple

(B) *Chapel No. 21.* Similar to (A) but with *pronaos* divided into three parts and with plain face.—Pl. IX. (C) *Chapel No. 12.* Similar to No. 1, but with plain face ; portico with four columns.—Pl. XXIX. (D) *Chapel No. 10. Naos* only, with column, screen wall and window on either side of door.—Pls. XXVII, XXX. (E) *Chapel No. 11. Naos* divided into two parts ; wide *pronaos* with column and screen wall on either side of door ; portico with six columns.—Pl. XXVIII. This particular chapel recalls the three-chambered Osiris Chapel on either side of the roof of the main Temple of Hathor at Dendera, between the outer and central rooms of which are screen walls with short pillars. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, etc., vi, p. 94.

[1] Cf. for example, E. Bevan, op. cit. pp. 320 (Fig. 52), 339 (Fig. 57), 340 (Fig. 58) ; É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, ix, Pls. VI, X ; É. Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara*, i, Pls. XXI-XXIII ; Baldwin Smith, op. cit. Pls. LVII, LVIII, LIX, LXII. Here, as in the case of the front of the *pronaos* of the chapels of Petosiris and Padykam, there are actual and not " sculptured " columns and screen walls, the spaces above the walls letting in the light.

[2] The overall measurements of chapel No. 1 (excluding platform and steps) are : 7·90 m. long by 5·25 m. wide ; those of the Bahria Oasis temple are : 12·40 m. long by 6·37 m. wide. The height of the chapel is 5·40 m. The façade details seen in our Fig. 1 have been checked from a photograph taken on the spot by the writer (the grille in the windows is omitted).

[3] A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (1907), pp. 247 f. ; E. Erman, *La Religion des Égyptiens* (1937), pp. 487 ff., Fig. 182.

stands in a sacred enclosure which is surrounded by a colonnade having on two sides rooms for the priests, for storehouses, etc. A flight of steps leads up to the six-columned portico of the temple; behind the portico is a simple *naos*. In one corner of the enclosure are a small building and a large altar. A fresco in the temple shows what is evidently another temple of Isis, also Alexandrian in style.[1] The details portray: (1) A background of palm-trees; (2) the door of the building flanked on each side by a large sphinx on a pedestal; (3) two windows to right and left of the door; (4) a flight of steps leading up to the temple-wide platform on which the sphinxes rest; (5) an altar in front of the steps (the altar has four "horns"[2] like the altars of the Hermopolis West chapels); and (6) a ceremonial service or festival, complete with priests, musicians and chorus.[3] As to the sphinxes, such sacred objects were certainly present in Alexandrian tombs of the "Macedonian" type. One of these tombs has a small sphinx on a pillar to right and left of the outer part of the entrance of its *oikos*.[4] There may even have been two sphinxes on the entrance platform of the *Soma* cult-temple. There were certainly sphinxes on pedestals at the doors of

[1] A. Erman, *A Handbook*, etc., p. 250, Fig. 128 (an excellent reproduction); A. Erman, *La Religion*, etc., p. 487, Fig. 181; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 178, Fig. 27.

[2] Cf. "the horns of the altar", Exodus, xxix, 12.

[3] The priests are shown taller than the musicians and members of the chorus, which reminds one of the fact that tragic actors frequently made use of the high-soled boot (*cothurnus*) and of the mask with high peruke (*oncos*) so as to give them a more imposing aspect. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, i, p. 1545, Fig. 2026, iv, p. 407. A fresco in a Cyrene tomb portrays a Dionysiac festival in connection with prize-giving in a gymnasium, in which, towering above the chorus and musicians, are three tragic actors representing gods, the left-hand one of whom is Dionysus. The actors here, however, stand upon a low pedestal instead of using the *cothurnus*, while the upper part of their *oncos* is shaped like a mitre. Op. cit. i, p. 1123, Figs. 1423-5. For tragic actors and members of the chorus representing divine beings in human form, in the Spring Festival of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 915. A plan of the Cyrene tomb and a full description of the fresco will be published in the forthcoming report of The Manchester University Archaeological Expedition to Cyrenaica in 1952.

[4] E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 331, Fig. 247.

Ptolemaic temples in the Faiyûm.[1] A highly conjectural restoration of a supposed non-peripteral temple of Isis at Rome was attempted by Canina.[2] This shows the building standing in a sacred enclosure surrounded by a colonnade, at the front of the enclosure being a portico of six columns and at its back various small rooms. The temple itself is seen to consist of a simple *naos* and a portico of eight columns, access to which is gained by a flight of steps.

The details of the enclosure wall of the *Soma* with its colonnade and rooms for the priests, etc., which are purely hypothetical, are based on the plan of the temple of Isis at Pompeii and on that of the Serapeum of Ptolemy III, Euergetes I (247-221 B.C.) at Alexandria.[3]

Four sites in particular have been regarded in more or less recent times as the probable burial place of Alexander the Great in Alexandria :

1. Mosque of Attarîn (built over the ruins of the Church of St. Athanasius), north-west of the main railway station in the town. Chosen because the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II,[4] wrongly believed by some to have been used for the burial of Alexander, was discovered in it by Napoleon's savants (see p. 142).
2. Kôm ed-Dik,[5] an artificial mound, a little north-east of the main railway station. This site has been chosen because the *Synaxary* records an account with some fantastic details, given by the Patriarch Theophilus (c. A.D. 400), of the erection of a church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and to the Prophet St. Elias, and " the discovery during the clearing of the ground, of

[1] One of these temples (with its hollow altar for the oracle-priest), dedicated to the crocodile-god Pnepheros or Petesouchos, has been transferred to the garden of the Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria. E. Breccia, op. cit. pp. 153 f., Fig. 81, pp. 284 ff., Fig. 198.

[2] G. Lafaye, *Histoire du Culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie* (1883), plan in Pl. II (opposite p. 224).

[3] Cf. my *Discovery of the Famous Temple and Enclosure of Serapis at Alexandria*, Cahier No. 2, *Annales du Service* (1946), Pl. XVII.

[4] The sarcophagus is now in the British Museum. E. D. Clarke, op. cit. pp. 25 ff., plates opposite pp. 28, 42 ; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX ; E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, (1909), pp. 248 ff., Pls. XXXII, XXXIII. Its weight is 6 tons 17 cwt.

[5] " Mound of the Cock (?) ". For recent excavations near Kôm ed-Dik and in the necropoli of Chatby and Minet el-Bassal, see *Jaarbericht No.* 13. . . . *Ex Oriente Lux*, Leiden (1933), p. 312, No. 76.

a treasure of golden ornaments of the time of Alexander. The site in question was called Dimas-Demas (now-a-days Kôm ed-Demas [or Kôm ed-Dik])."[1] The name *Kôm ed-Demas* has been regarded by some as perhaps meaning "Mound of Bodies"[2] but this cannot be, for there is no doubt, I believe, that *demas* is derived originally from the pharaonic *tms*, "to bury", a word which passed into Coptic as *toms*, "to bury", and *ma ntoms*, "burial place".[3] Professor J. Robson and Mr. C. F. Beckingham of Manchester inform me that in view of the above philological facts the use among the Arabs of *Demas* for the site-name is thus obviously borrowed. It is quite clear, therefore, that *Kôm ed-Demas* means something like "Burial Mound". The excavations carried out on the *kôm* by Professor A. J. B. Wace, on behalf of the Farouk I University, Alexandria, have clearly shown that the greater part of the mound is an accumulation of débris from a potters' and glassmakers' quarter active during the Mamelouk period (A.D. 1250/52-1517).[4]

3. Mosque of Nebi Daniel, a little west of Kôm ed-Dik. Mainly chosen because of the tale, now seen to be fictitious, told long ago by a dragoman belonging to the Russian Consulate of Alexandria who pretended that in 1850 he had entered vaults below the mosque where he saw in a "kind of cage made of glass, a human body whose head was surrounded by a diadem. The figure was bent up on a throne or elevation of some kind. A number of books and papyri were scattered around."[5] Now a few years ago the Ministry of Wakfs, at the suggestion of that great scholar the late Prince Omar Toussoun, made extensive excavations below the mosque, and, as I officially observed at the time, could find no remains of funerary vaults or tombs of any description with the exception of some loose pillar-shaped headstones from an early Moslem cemetery.

4. Tomb of the Prophet and King Iskander (Alexander). Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Moslems venerated this small edifice, which was apparently near the Mosque of Nebi Daniel.[6] There is certainly no evidence to connect it with the *Soma*. The modern mosque of Sidi Iskander is not in the region of the Iskander tomb.[7]

[1] E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99; G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, pp. 44 f.

[2] A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 11.

[3] Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, v, p. 369; W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (1939), p. 416. The latter reference is from Professor H. W. Fairman and Dr. W. Till.

[4] *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., iv, p. 11.

[5] E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99.

[6] E. Breccia, loc. cit.

[7] Prince Omar Toussoun kindly drew my attention to the remarks which Mas'ūdī (died A.D. 957) made about what he mistakenly believed to have been the existing remains of the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. The sarcophagus, he says, was of marble raised upon a platform made of blocks of white and coloured marbles laid one above the other. The platform and sarcophagus were known by the name of "Tomb of Alexander". Mas'ūdī adds that the body of Alexander was embalmed with bitumen. Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, edn. Meynard et Courteille, ii (1863), p. 259; E. A. W. Budge, *A History of Egypt*, vii, pp. 157 f.

It is evident that none of these sites can seriously be considered as the burial place of Alexander, and it remains to see whether it is possible to suggest the locations of the two Alexandrian temple-tombs, which, as already indicated above, were apparently prepared for the king. In order, however, to make this suggestion clear, we must, first of all, give a general account of the final history of the presumed tomb at Rhacotis and of its successor in the eastern part of Alexandria. Some of the details are taken from the classical sources, perhaps not always reliable, quoted above (p. 139, n. 1) and in the footnotes belonging to this brief history.

Not far from the supposed original *Soma* at Alexandria, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (283-245 B.C.) erected the temple-tombs of his parents, Ptolemy I and Berenice. The " Enclosure of the Brother Gods " seems to have been the name of the adjacent mausoleum in which Philadelphus himself and his wife Arsinoe were buried.[1]

Ptolemy IV, Philopator (221-203 B.C.) is stated by Zenobius [2] to have " built in the middle of the city a *mnema* (' Monument '), which is now called the *Sema*, and he laid there all his forefathers together with his mother, and also Alexander the Macedonian " ;[3] his own successors were buried in tombs close by.[4] The statement of Zenobius seems to indicate that Ptolemy IV actually removed the burials from their original tombs and grouped them together on another site. Presumably the " Monument "

[1] E. Breccia, op cit. pp. 97 f. ; E. Bevan, op. cit. pp. 93, 127. For the cult of the Ptolemies, cf. E. Bevan, op. cit. pp. 127 ff. ; P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism*, etc., pp. 287 ff., 293 ff., 360 f.

[2] *Proverbia*, iii. 94 ; E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 98.

[3] Ptolemy IV was doubtless buried in the " Monument ". Polybius indicates that unlike the body of Alexander, which was embalmed, the bodies of Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoe were incinerated and placed in two silver funerary urns ; cf. E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 253. Both systems of burial existed side by side in Alexandria during the Graeco-Roman period. The local urns were largely of the three-handled *kalpis* type of amphora.

[4] Whether the upper part of a nummulitic limestone column found some years ago lying deep in the debris by the side of Sharia Khedive el-Awal, north of the Alexandria Serapeum, and bearing the names of Ptolemy VI, Philometor (181-145 B.C.) and his wife Cleopatra II, came from the cult-temple of that king is not certain. The object is published in my *History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, Cahier No. 12, *Annales du Service* (1948), pp. 42 f., Pl. IV.

was a modified copy of the original *Soma*, the bodies of the early Ptolemies being placed in additional side tombs, each complete with *prostas* and *oikos* (including *kline*), leading off to right and left of the courtyard. Composite tombs of this class are seen in Anfushy [1] and elsewhere in Alexandria. Perhaps the original *Soma*, as well as the Memphis " temple-tomb ", would have been preserved as a kind of cenotaph.

Strabo [2] states that the golden coffin of Alexander was replaced by a sarcophagus of " glass ", more probably alabaster, by the " Ptolemy nicknamed *Cocces* (' Scarlet ') and *Pareisactus* (' Usurper '), who came over from Syria but was immediately expelled, so that his plunder proved unprofitable to him ". This king has been identified with Ptolemy IX, Alexander I (101-89 B.C.). It has been suggested that Strabo refers to the attempt of Alexander I to reconquer Egypt after his flight to Syria in 89 B.C., and that in order to pay his mercenaries he stole from its tomb the golden coffin of Alexander, an act which probably provoked his final expulsion.[3]

The Romans in general venerated the " *Monument* " or *Soma* (*Sema*), and the cult of Alexander which had flourished ever since his death (see p. 140, n. 1), continued for a long time in the period of their domination.[4] When Julius Caesar came to Alexandria (48/46 B.C.) he saw the body of Alexander,[5] while Augustus, the first Roman emperor (30 B.C.-A.D. 14), who wore a signet ring bearing the likeness, probably profile, of the great Macedonian,[6] also inspected the remains. Augustus had the body brought forth from its sarcophagus, but accidentally

[1] Cf. I. Noshy, op. cit. Pl. III, Fig. 1 ; E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 330, Fig. 246.

[2] xvii. 1.8 (edn. Loeb).

[3] E. Bevan, op. cit. pp. 332 f. ; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 746. In the latter publication the system of numbering of the later Ptolemies does not agree with that of Bevan ; cf. also T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 39, Munich (1954).

[4] Incidentally, Cleopatra is said by Josephus (*C. Apionem.* ii. 5 ; *Antiq.*, xv. 4) to have robbed the sepulchres of her progenitors, the most famous of whom was of course Alexander the Great, but the story seems doubtful. The queen herself and Antony were buried in a single tomb not far from the *Soma*. G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. pp. 23 ff.

[5] Quintus Curtius (cited by G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 10, n. 4).

[6] E. D. Clarke, op. cit. p. 10.

damaged the nose. He placed a golden crown upon the head and scattered flowers over the body. The flowers recall the roses and violets associated with certain anniversaries held in the Roman funerary *triclinium*.[1] Caligula (A.D. 37-41) seems to have abstracted the golden breastplate for his own use.

Other important visitors who are said probably to have inspected the *Soma* were Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), Titus (A.D. 79-81), Domitian (A.D. 81-86), Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) and his wife Sabina, Marcus-Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), Avidius Cassius (A.D. 175), Commodus (A.D. 180-192) and Pescennius Niger (A.D. 193-194).[2]

Severus (A.D. 193-211) collected together certain sacred volumes of Egypt, containing the writings of the priests and the explanations of their hieroglyphs, and after depositing them in the *Soma*, ordered it to be closed for the future so that no person should have access to it. It is reasonable to suggest that the sacred books are more likely to have been stored in the cult-temple, or in one of the rooms which we assume were near the pylon, than in the sepulchre underground, which would have been rather damp. The Library of the Temple of Horus at Edfu (temple finally completed in 57 B.C., *temp.* Ptolemy XI (*Auletes*)) was housed in a little room in the outer hypostyle hall just to the right of the main entrance,[3] while the Serapeum or Daughter Library of Alexandria was evidently contained in some of the nineteen rooms we found near the great entrance pylon of the Serapeum.[4] These rooms, at least during the end of the Ptolemaic

[1] It is further related that after Augustus saw the body of Alexander he was asked if he would inspect the bodies of the Ptolemies, but he refused to do so stating that he wished to see a king and not corpses !

[2] The list of names in this paragraph follows that given by G. Botti, *Fouilles à la Colonne Théodosienne*, p. 44.

[3] Porter and Moss, op. cit. vi, p. 130, No. 96, pp. 134 ff. ; H. W. Fairman, in BULLETIN, vol. 37 (September 1954), p. 169. The library was called *Per-Medjat*, " House of Books ", and inscribed on its walls were catalogues of the books required for the temple services.

[4] *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., pp. 22 ff. This particular library contained the Septuagint or Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures said to have been prepared under Ptolemy II. We unearthed in what we believe to be one of its rooms some handles bearing Hebrew seal-impressions belonging to amphorae for holding liquids or even documents. Compare in the latter respect the Dead Sea Scrolls in jars found some little time ago, and the statement

period and during the Roman period, were heated by hot-air ducts.[1] Other libraries, particularly those at Pergamum and Ephesus, had double walls to keep out the damp.[2]

Caracalla (A.D. 211-217), who posed as a reincarnation of both Heracles and Alexander the Great, entirely disregarded the prohibition of Severus and visited the *Soma*, placing upon the tomb of Alexander a purple cloak, beautiful rings with gems,[3] a military belt, and rich ornaments, all belonging to himself.[4] Whether the successors of Caracalla adopted the policy of Severus and kept the *Soma* closed is unknown, but apart from possible damage done to it during the Alexandrian revolts and their suppression in the reigns of Aurelian (A.D. 270-275), Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) and others, the masonry parts of the *Soma* may well have remained until the reign of the Christian Emperor Theodosius I, in whose time the old temples of Egypt and most of the Alexandrian Serapeum itself were destroyed (in A.D. 391). In a homily, Bishop St. John Chrysostom (died A.D. 407) asks: "Tell me where the *Soma* of Alexander is?" [5]

in Jeremiah, xxxii. 14: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel: 'Take these deeds . . . and put them in an earthern vessel; that they may continue many days'". A granite box, quite evidently from one of the great Alexandrian libraries, was found in 1848 not far from the main railway station in Alexandria. It is inscribed: *ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ Γ ΤΟΜΟΙ*," Three volumes by Dioscurides". A. J. Reinach, in *Bull. de la Soc.* (*Royale*) *d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 2, p. 350; G. Botti, *Plan de la Ville d'Alexandrie* (1898), p. 65; E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 94; and my article in *Bull. de la Soc.* (*Royale*) *d'Arch. d'Alex.*, xxxv, pp. 8 f.

[1] *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., Pl. VIII.

[2] D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1945), pp. 290 f.

[3] Cf. the beautiful rings of gold with onyx intaglios we found on bodies of female devotees of Nemesis in the Hadrianic catacombs of Kôm el-Shukafa, *Bull. de la Soc.* (*Royale*) *d'Arch. d'Alex.*, etc. xxxv, Pl. XIV.

[4] A. J. B. Wace, in *Bull. of the Faculty*, etc., ii, p. 8; G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 11, n. 5.

[5] E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 99. Professor H. Chadwick kindly informs me that the reference is: *Hom. in ep. II ad Cor.* 26.5, Migne, *P.G.* lxi. 581. He states that these homilies are usually dated (e.g. by Bardenhewer) in 392, and adds that he does not think that St. John's language is wholly irreconcilable with my view that the tomb was finally destroyed in 391, but "it certainly does not seem a natural reading of his words". St. Epiphanus, also at the end of the fourth century, refers to the desolated and little known site of the *Soma*. G. A. Voutopoulos, op. cit. p. 13.

THE SITES OF THE TWO ALEXANDRIAN TOMBS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE ANCIENT PALACE IN RHACOTIS

We now come to the concluding part of our article which contains suggested identifications of the sites of the two Alexandrian tombs prepared for the great Macedonian conqueror and an identification of the ancient palace in Rhacotis.

It has already been seen (p. 152) that, according to Zenobius, Ptolemy IV removed the burials of Alexander and his immediate successors to the "Monument" which he built *in the middle of the city*. Strabo[1] is more explicit, for he states that "the *Sema* (*Soma*) also, as it is called, is part of the royal palaces". It is evident from the context that these particular royal palaces were in *Neapolis*, the suburb that Alexander caused to be added to the east of Rhacotis, an Egyptian town founded about 1500 B.C.[2] It is in Neapolis, therefore, that the second *Soma* should be sought. (The position of Neapolis and the approximate site of the ancient palaces there are indicated in Fig. 2.)

On analogy with the position of the later *Soma* in Neapolis, I believe that the original *Soma* must have been situated near a palace. *The existence of such a palace in Western Rhacotis can now be proved!* The earliest mention of this palace is on the Stela of the Satrap, dated 311 B.C., which is exhibited in the Cairo Museum and which states that Ptolemy the Satrap "made his Residence, whose name is *The Fort of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt* (*Setep-en-Re-Mery-ka-Amun*)[3] *son of Re* (*Alexander*)[4] on the shore of the Sea of the Ionians,[5] its name having formerly been *Rhacotis*"[6] (for the text see Fig. 2, A).

[1] xvii. 1, 8.

[2] See my remarks in BULLETIN, Vol. 36 (March, 1954), p. 485, n. 3. I am now engaged on a history of pharaonic Rhacotis.

[3] Prenomen of Alexander (signs omitted in our Fig. 2).

[4] Nomen.

[5] The Mediterranean Sea.

[6] K. Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii, 14, 13-16; Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles Ptolémaiques et Romaines*, i (1905), pp. 168 ff. In our Fig. 2 the final hieroglyphic word *khent*, "formerly, previously", has been omitted for lack of space. Compare the following extract from the history of Alexander the Great by John Madabbar (E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 590, quoting Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, pp. 57 f., 282 f., late seventh

A more precise indication of the position of this palace is to be found on the stele of Pa-shere-en-Ptah (*temp.* Ptolemy XI (*Auletes*)—79-51 B.C.) in the British Museum where we read that the priest " went to the Residence of the Kings of the Ionians (Ptolemies), which is on the shore of the sea on the west side of the Āqa Canal, and whose name is *Rhacotis* " [1] (for the text, see Fig. 2, B).

Fig. 2 shows the supposed position of the Rhacotis palace in relation to the Āqa Canal and the sea, and to the great cemetery region to the west. Cf. Strabo : [2] " Next, after the Heptastadium, one comes to the Harbour of Eunostos " (*West Port* on Fig. 2), " and, above this, to the artificial harbour, which is also called Kibotos. . . . Farther in there is a navigable canal, which extends to Lake Mareotis. Now *outside the canal there is still left only a small part of the city ;* and then one comes to the suburb Necropolis, in which there are many gardens and graves and halting-places fitted up for the embalming of corpses." It is now clear that the strip of city to the west of the canal was mainly occupied by the palace area, the palace itself being to the north.

Thus we have seen that at various times the Rhacotis palace was known by the following names : (1) Pre-Alexandrian, *Rhacotis ;* (2) *temp.* Ptolemy the Satrap, *Fort of . . . Alexander ;* [3] and (3) *temp.* Ptolemy XI, *Rhacotis.*

Necropolis was certainly a cemetery of Rhacotis in pre-Alexandrian times for funerary remains have been found in it

century B.C.) : " Now when Alexander . . . had become king, he founded . . . Alexandria in the country of Egypt, and he called it Alexandria after his own name ; now the old name of the place was in the language of the Egyptians ' Rakoti '."

[1] H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 943. At the request of Professor H. W. Fairman, both Mr. I. E. S. Edwards and Professor S. R. K. Glanville kindly controlled this text for me when I was in Alexandria. The translation of the inscription, published by E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 347, wrongly gives *west of Rakoti* for *west side of the Āqa Canal, and whose name is Rhacotis.* [2] xvii. 1, 10.

[3] The *Fort of Alexander* is mentioned in the Nobaireh variant of the Rosetta Stone (*Urk.*, ii, 177, 6 ; *temp.* Ptolemy V), and in the bilingual decree of Philae (*Urk.*, ii, 217, 1 ; *temp.* Ptolemy V). In both these instances, however, the expression seems to be used loosely as a designation of the city of Alexandria. Cf. H. Gauthier, *Dict. des Noms. Géog.*, v, p. 24 ; F. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'Expression du Grec et de l'Égyptien Comparés dans les Décrets de Canope et de Memphis*, p. 205.

dating from the late pharaonic period. Strabo's remarks, already mentioned above, about mummification being carried out there in his time is supported by the finding of mummies with pectorals bearing hieroglyphic texts in certain Ptolemaic and Roman tombs in the region.[1] In 1949 I came across an ancient paved street, with underground drain, leading from a Graeco-Roman quay on the Âqa Canal[2] towards Necropolis, and resting on it were some sarcophagi ready to be transported to the tombs (see Fig. 2). One of the sarcophagi, of grey-white marble, weighed some 18 tons and its lower part is beautifully decorated in high relief with representations of festoons of vines and grapes associated (as are most of the other details on its power part) with the cult of Dionysus. The god himself, in youthful form, is actually shown, as are the figures of a Maenad (follower of Dionysus) and Heracles. There are also the heads of Silenus wearing a bandlet of ivy leaves, a Satyr and three Gorgon phantoms, namely Stheino, Medusa and Euryale.[3] The sarcophagus is typical of the better examples of the Roman period in Necropolis. Many rock-cut tombs of the Graeco-Roman period are visible along the coast westwards from the canal.

The exact site of the Rhacotis *palace* may well be below a series of sacred buildings which, as we know, were built in later times more or less one over the other in a certain small area *also close to the sea and west of the ancient mouth of the canal* (see Fig. 2, the area named " Residence of the Ptolemies(?) "), for in early times it was common for buildings to be erected on the ruins of older constructions and to use the materials of the ancient

[1] *Bull. de la Soc. (Royale) d'Arch. d'Alex.* 2, pp. 37 ff. ; Schreiber-Sieglin, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa.* text vol. (1908), pp. 164, 176, 196 ff., 323 f.

[2] This canal and the adjoining one on the south side of the city, the latter named " Ancient Canal of Alexandria " on Fig. 2 were in existence at least as early as the Thirtieth Dynasty (378-341 B.C.). The Âqa Canal seems to have been the *Pi-Drakon* of John of Nikiou, late seventh century A.D. See my article in BULLETIN, Vol. 36 (September 1953), p. 131. There was also another canal running northwards from the " Ancient Canal of Alexandria ", but this was in the old *Neapolis* quarter and it is not known before the end of the fourth century A.D. That part of it which remains, the southern end, is today called the Farkha Canal. E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 78, and map at end.

[3] *Illustrated London News* (25 June 1949), p. 893.

buildings in the new structures.[1] The earliest of the post-palace buildings in the area seems to have been the Oratory or Church of the Patriarch Theonas (A.D. 282-300), which was reconstructed and enlarged by the Patriarch Alexander (A.D. 313-326), and used as the Cathedral of St. Mary until the end of the fourth century, when the old Caesareum (west of the ancient palace area in Neapolis) became the Cathedral. St. Mary's Church, as it was then named, was, after the Arab conquest (A.D. 639-641), turned into the famous " Mosque of the Thousand Columns ", or " Western Mosque ".[2] The mosque was partly ruined during the war which followed the French occupation, in A.D. 1798 ;[3] but as late as A.D. 1905 (when part of it became a *shūna* or warehouse) there were still 153 granite and marble standing or fallen columns with their capitals.[4] Two of the columns from the Oratory, with crosses in relief, are adjacent to the tomb of Dr. J. Scheiss Pasha in the Government Hospital, Alexandria.[5] Today, roughly over the mosque site, there are the Istituto Convitto Suore Francescane (in its gardens are some capitals and parts of columns as well as a few Kufic inscriptions, all found locally) and a Church of St. Francis of Assisi, built in A.D. 1881. Nearby is the Mosque of Sîdi el-Minaiyar. The area is in the modern Labbân Quarter of Alexandria.[6]

Finally, it may be mentioned that although it is probable that the masonry superstructures associated with the tombs of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies have disappeared for ever, it is not impossible that the sites of some of these tombs may yet be identified by the discovery of foundation plaques of gold and other materials. It was a common practice in Ptolemaic

[1] On the great city-mound at Beth-Shan were the following sacred buildings mostly one above the other : Five Canaanite temples, a Hellenistic temple, a round church and a small mosque. See my *Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (1930), also my *Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940).

[2] E. Breccia, op. cit. pp. 55, 103, and map at end (this shows site of " Église de Théonas ") ; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v, Pl. XXXVII ; and *État Moderne* (of the *Description*), larger edn., ii, Pl. LXXXIV.

[3] E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 103.

[4] E. D. I. Dutilh, in *Bull. de la Soc.* (*Royale*) *d'Arch. d'Alex.*, 7, pp. 75 ff., Figs. 19-21.

[5] E. D. I. Dutilh, loc. cit. ; E. Breccia, op. cit. p. 55.

[6] It is interesting to note that a " Porte de Catacombes ", so named, was in the old Arab city wall, now destroyed, not far from the site. *État Moderne*, loc. cit.

times to place such plaques, inscribed with the name of the king and other details, in small square holes sunk in the rock under the corners of temples and enclosure walls. These holes were very carefully hidden, and usually can only be detected if the surface of the rock is brushed, a method which resulted in our discovery of the forty-three bilingual plaques of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV in the Alexandria Serapeum.[1] In any search for such plaques, the obvious starting point would be the surface above the *prostas* and *oikos* (that is the surface where the cult-temple was situated) of any likely or suspected tomb.

I have to express my best thanks to Professors R. A. Cordingley of Manchester, H. W. Fairman of Liverpool, and R. E. Smith of Manchester for various useful suggestions which I have duly incorporated in this article. Professor Fairman made the copies of the hieroglyphic texts A and B on Fig. 2.

APPENDIX.

Notes on the Embalming of Alexander the Great, etc. Diodorus[2] indicates that the space in the golden anthropoid coffin about the body was filled with

[1] Cf. my *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., for a description of these plaques and references to plaques of Ptolemy II at Naukratis; Ptolemy III at Canopus; Ptolemy IV at Alexandria (below the Old Bourse, now the Cercle Mohammed Ali, Sharia Fouad) and Tanis. The inscriptions in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu mention foundation plaques of various materials. One of the foundation ceremonies depicted in the hypostyle hall is entitled: "Placing of bricks (tablets) of gold and semi-precious stones at the four corners of the temple". É. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, ii, p. 32, line 7 = xii, Pl. 375 (17 tablets are mentioned); cf. Rowe, op. cit. p. 65. The custom of using foundation plaques in temples was pharaonic in origin and examples have been found on many sites (Rowe, op. cit. pp. 14 ff., 65), including Sesebi (H. W. Fairman, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xxiv, pp. 153 f.). For discussions on such objects see Bissing-Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Ra-Heiligtum des Rathures*, p. 12; A. Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharonique*, pp. 135 f. Professor A. J. B. Wace informed me, in 1946, that "the evidence about foundation deposits made when a Greek temple was built is unsatisfactory. No certain case is known and as a rule it has not been the practice of excavators of Greek sites to look for foundation deposits in connection with Greek temples", although it may have been "a Greek custom to make a foundation deposit under the statue base, for the remains of such a possible foundation deposit were found in the earlier Nike temple on the Acropolis at Athens". In the Alexandria Serapeum during the Roman period, silver and bronze coins were used for foundation deposits. *Discovery . . . of the Temple . . . of Serapis*, etc., pp. 61 ff.

[2] xviii. 26.

aromatic spices to preserve the body. Another account [1] says that the body was preserved with aloes and after being laid in the coffin had " the honey of bees " poured over it. According to the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes,[2] Alexander ordered that his body should be laid in a golden coffin, 250 talents in weight,[3] and that this coffin should be filled with " white honey which hath not melted ". Herodotus [4] says the Babylonians buried their dead in honey. Democritus (c. 460-370 B.C.) maintains there will be a resurrection if the body is preserved in honey, but this idea is ridiculed by Varro.[5] The Babylonian *Talmud*[6] states that Herod had preserved in honey for seven years the body of a girl of the Hashmonean family, while Josephus [7] mentions that Aristobulus, the Jewish king whom Pompey's partisans had removed by means of poison, lay buried in honey till Antony sent him to the royal cemetery in Judea. Bee-keeping was an important minor industry in Egypt, and in the Ptolemaic period there were royal as well as private bee-farms. But honey does not appear to have been used in that country for embalming, with the exception of one doubtful instance, quoted by Abd el-Latif (A.D. 1162-1231),[8] who relates that he was told that a sealed jar containing the body of a small child embalmed in honey had been found near the pyramids.[9] Manetho (*temp.* Ptolemy II) mentions an old legend according to which, during the time of a king of the Second Dynasty, " the Nile flowed with honey during seven days ".[10] The pharaonic word for honey was *byt* and that for honey-bee *āfi-en-byt*. (The title of the pharaoh, as ruler of Lower Egypt, was " He who Belongs to the Bee (*byt*) ". It recalls the enigmatic " Hornet " of Exodus, xxiii. 28, Deuteronomy, vii. 20, and Joshua, xxiv. 12, which drove out the Hittites, Amorites and others from Canaan, before the entry of the Hebrews.[11] The Assyrian bee and the Egyptian fly, used metaphorically for Assyrians and Egyptians respectively, are mentioned in Isaiah, vii. 18).

[1] E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896), p. 431.

[2] Budge, *History of Alexander the Great* (1889), p. 141.

[3] The weight of the talent varied, the Attic-Euboic standard, for instance, being 36·86 kg. and the Aeginetic standard 37·80 kg. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1950), p. 959. We may assume that the weight of " 250 talents " for the Alexander coffin is an exaggeration. For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the golden coffin of Tut-ankh-Amun weighs 110 kg.

[4] i. 198.

[5] *Sat.*, edn. Riese (1865), p. 114.

[6] Tract *Baba Batra*, fol. 3b. Reference from Dr. P. R. Weis of Manchester.

[7] *Antiq.*, xiv. 7.

[8] A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (1948), pp. 35 ff., 107.

[9] For other references to honey as a preservative of bodies, see especially E. D. Clarke, op. cit. pp. 137 ff.; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des. Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, iii, pp. 1705 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, v. 2, col. 2113. Last reference from Mr. C. J. Herington of Manchester.

[10] E. A. W. Budge, *The Mummy* (1925), p. 28, citing Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, edn. Hodges, p. 113.

[11] In *The Old Testament : An American Translation* (1927) the translators read " leprosy " for " hornet " in the passages mentioned. Dr. P. R. Weis believes there is no real justification for the former rendering.

II. THE GREAT WALL OF THE LIBYAN DESERT

At the end of the season 1931-2, when I was in charge of the excavations of The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Meydûm, we came across what is certainly the longest known ancient wall in Egypt. I had intended at the time to publish full details of this interesting and important find but unfortunately my notes became mislaid, and it was not until quite recently, when I resurrected the notes, that I was able to write the present article.[1]

Meydûm itself is in Middle Egypt and on the west side of the Nile. It actually lies on the east side of the rather wide strip of the Libyan desert that divides the Nile and its border cultivations from the fertile region of Faiyûm to the west. It so happened that one day while in an aeroplane searching for traces of Fourth Dynasty tombs in the desert to the north of the pyramid of King Sneferu at Meydûm,[2] I noticed a kind of long thin line (which I knew was invisible from the ground) running roughly northwest from the edge of the cultivations near El-Riqqa towards the Faiyûm. El-Riqqa itself, 4 km. north-east of the Meydûm pyramid, is frequently mentioned in the Ptolemaic papyri as " Kerke Harbour ",[3] *kerke* being a corruption of the pharaonic word *gerg(t)*, " settlement ".[4]

After our return to the ground I made arrangements to examine the " line " and to trace its exact course across the desert. As a result it was found that we had actually discovered a hitherto unknown buttressed brick wall, probably Ptolemaic in date,

[1] A few lines giving a brief reference to the discovery, and written entirely from memory (one result being that the wall was wrongly (?) dated to the Roman period), are to be found in my article in BULLETIN, Vol. 36 (March, 1954), p. 497. In the same place I refer to the stone wall (" Wall of the Barbarians ") near Taposiris Magna, in Mareotis, but this is a short one.

[2] Some believe the pyramid was commenced by King Huni and completed by Sneferu, his successor and husband of Hetepheres. Cf. Reisner and Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, ii, *The Tomb of Hetepheres, the Mother of Cheops*, 1955, p. 2. This secret tomb was discovered by the Harvard-Boston Expedition during the time I was temporarily in charge.

[3] As Professor Ulrich Wilcken of Berlin informed me.

[4] Cf. Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, v, p. 188; H. Gauthier, *Dict. des Noms Géographiques*, etc., v (1928), p. 219; E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), p. 117; Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* (1900), p. 345.

which ran from a point a little west of Kerke to Bubastos.[1] The latter town site is situated on the west bank of the 'Abdallah Wahbî Canal, a waterway that skirts the north and east sides of the Faiyûm. (See Fig. 3 on this page). The length of the wall is

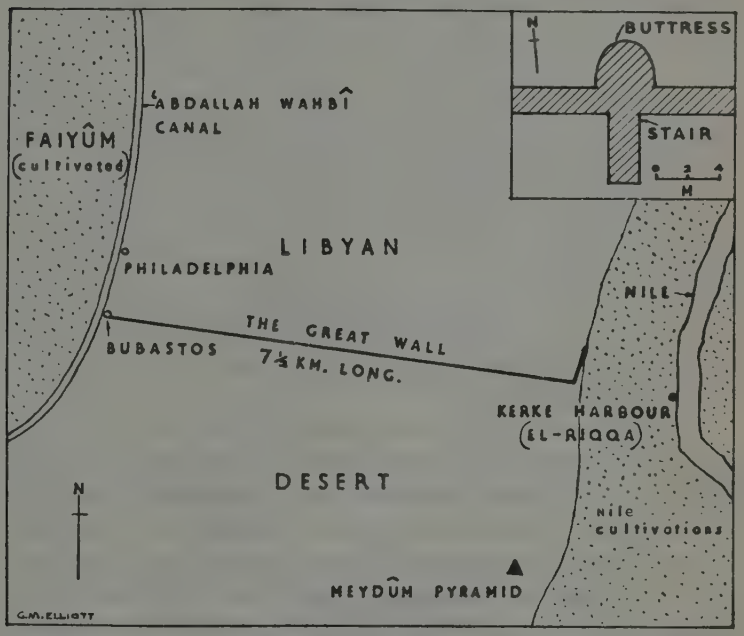

FIG. 3.—Map showing approximate course of the Great Wall in the Libyan Desert. INSET: Details of one of the buttresses and its stair.

Note. As stated in my text, Bubastos is on the west side of the canal and not on the east, as shown above.

7½ km.[2] It averages 1·88 m. in width, and there are rounded buttresses on its north side,[3] each buttress having a rectangular projection (evidently the base of a stair) behind it and on the

[1] The modern Kôm el-Kharâba el-Saghîr, "The Small Mound of the Ruins". Its ancient name indicates a pharaonic origin for the site. See the Survey of Egypt "El-Wâsta" Map 26/465 (Sheet 72/60; scale: 1 : 100,000).

[2] At Kerke a small arm of the wall runs northeastwards for at least half a kilometre, perhaps to protect the area of the town.

[3] Cf. the rounded pharaonic, etc., buttresses shown in A. Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, i (1954), pp. 177 f. Round towers were used in fortress walls at Samaria in Hellenistic times (c. 323 to 321 B.C.) and at Babylon in Egypt in Roman times. See W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1949), p. 150, Pl. XXIII; J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1924), p. 40.

south side of the wall. The buttress is 3·90 m. wide and projects 3·00 m. from the north face of the wall; the supposed stair is 1·81 m. wide and 4·37 m. long. (See Fig. 3, inset.) We only managed in the time available to clear a very small section of the wall, and this was near its eastern end, where it had been denuded to about 0·40 m. in height. Likewise we had no time to ascertain: (1) How many buttresses there were, and the distances between the few we noticed; (2) Whether there were, as seemed apparent from the air, small forts along the line; and (3) Whether there was a fosse or ditch [1] on the north side of the wall.

About a kilometre roughly north of Bubastos and on the same side of the canal are the remains of the sister city, Philadelphia,[2] founded as a colony for Greek soldiers about 250 B.C. under Ptolemy II, Philadelphus and abandoned about the fourth century A.D.[3] One of the *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, II, xlvi, mentions a person who farmed the tax upon vineyards and gardens in Philadelphia and Bubastos.[4]

There is no doubt that our great wall was built to protect a *special northern caravan route* to the Faiyûm [5] from Kerke to Bubastos, which route must have had an extension (apparently undefended by a wall) from Bubastos to Philadelphia. Professor Wilcken pointed out to me in 1932 that the papyri show there was much traffic between Kerke and Philadelphia; and from various mummy labels it is seen that the bodies of residents who died outside the Faiyûm, and had to be buried in their native fertile region, were brought by water to Kerke, unloaded there, and transported through the desert to Philadelphia. In view of our discovery it is obvious that these funerary and other transports followed the line of the great wall. It is certain that not even light traffic could have traversed the top of the wall for not only was there no space for it but the sun-dried bricks of which the structure is made are rather friable. On the other hand, it would seem that the class of desert police guard called

[1] Cf. the ditches around the "Libyan" forts of late Roman date in south-west Cyrenaica. R. G. Goodchild, in *Antiquity* (September 1951), pp. 131 ff.

[2] The modern Kôm el-Kharâba el-Kebîr, "The Big Mound of the Ruins".

[3] Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, op. cit. p. 16. [4] Op. cit. p. 11.

[5] The usual route was evidently more to the south where the cultivations of the Faiyûm and those of the Nile approach one another.

erēmophylax[1] carried out a regular patrol upon the wall in order to defend the traffic (which of course passed along its southern side) from certain North Libyan tribes, perhaps the Adyrmachidae of Scylax (c. 320 B.C.)[2] or their near descendants. It is regrettable that circumstances prevented us from searching for traces of the highway itself. A mosaic photograph of the whole wall-line is in Philadelphia.[3] About half way between the Meydûm pyramid and the great wall we came across, and partly excavated, cemeteries of the Graeco-Roman and Early Christian periods. For some of the finds, including an amphora with 2471 small bronze coins, dating from fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and Coptic ostraca, see my article in *Illustrated London News* (9 April, 1932), pp. 536 ff. One of these ostraca, bearing a list of personal names, each followed by a word of unknown meaning (*ouarbik'i*), is being published by Dr W. Till, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e di Roberto Paribeni*, Milan. Its date is c. seventh century A.D.

For objects from El-Riqqa (some of which are in Manchester University Museum), cf. E. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, 1915.

ADDENDA TO PREVIOUS WESTERN DESERT ARTICLES IN BULLETIN.[4]

Article I, p. 132. The cult of the Thirtieth Dynasty persea-tree in the region south of Lake Mareotis recalls the story related by Abou Sâlih (c. A.D. 1200) that there was in his time a miraculous olive-tree near Marea, also south of the lake, a tree " which has no green leaves on it ; but on the day of the festival of the church, at sunrise, the tree becomes green . . . and fruit appears on it ". The edifice was the Church of the Pure Lady and Virgin Mary, and the olive-tree stood by its door. Cf. e.g. Numbers, xvii. 8 (Aaron's sprouting rod) and the legend of the Glastonbury thorn.

Articles I, p. 139, *II*, p. 498. In the temple-fort of Apis (Zawyet Um el-Rakham), which I identified some time ago, Mr. Labib Habashi has recently found more pharaonic monuments, some bearing the name of Rameses II.

[1] Cf. E. Bevan, op. cit. p. 163.

[2] See O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (1914), p. 54, Map. IV.

[3] As I have no copy of this photograph I am unable to show in Fig. 3 the somewhat meandering course taken by the wall between Kerke and Bubastos, or even the exact position of the angle at the extreme eastern end of the wall. Only Ptolemaic pottery was found near the parts of the wall we examined.

[4] For the dates, etc., of these two articles see first paragraph of page 139 above.

SANBALLAT AND THE SAMARITAN TEMPLE [1]

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IN the book of Nehemiah we find a number of references to Sanballat the Horonite,[2] who was the leader of the Samaritan opposition to the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, and it would appear that if Nehemiah had not been as wary as Sanballat was wily, the task would not have been completed. The meaning of the term Horonite is uncertain, and a number of scholars [3] have connected it with Horonaim, in Moab.[4] Others [5]

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 9th of February, 1955. The substance of this lecture was given in French as a paper at the Journées Bibliques held in Louvain in September 1954. The following abbreviations are used in this article: *A.J.S.L.* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *A.N.E.T.* = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*; *B.J.R.L.* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*; *C.A.H.* = *Cambridge Ancient History*; *C.Q.R.* = *Church Quarterly Review*; *D.B.* = *Dictionary of the Bible*, or *Dictionnaire de la Bible*; *E.B.* = *Encyclopaedia Biblica*; H.A.T. = Handbuch zum Alten Testament; H.K. = Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament; *H.S.A.T.* = *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*; *H.U.C.A.* = *Hebrew Union College Annual*; *J.B.L.* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *J.E.* = *Jewish Encyclopedia*; *J.P.O.S.* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; K.A.T. = Kommentar zum Alten Testament; K.E.H. = Kurzgefasste exegetische Handbuch; K.H.C. = Kurzer Hand-Commentar; *P.G.* = *Patrologia Graeca*; *P.R.E.* = *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*; *P.W.* = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Witte, *Real Encyclopädie des classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*; *R.E.J.* = *Revue des Études Juives*; *S.B.U.* = *Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk*; *S.D.B.* = *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (ed. by L. Pirot); *Th.L.Z.* = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*; *U.J.E.* = *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*; *Z.A.W.* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

[2] Cf. Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 1; 7 (Heb. iii. 33; iv. 1); vi. 1, 2, 5, 12, 14; xiii. 28.

[3] So H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II. Reihe, ii (1898), 228 ff.; F. Vigouroux, *D.B.* v (1912), 1443; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii, 2. Hälfte (1929), 627; W. O. E. Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii (1934), 154.

[4] Cf. Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3. In Neh. xiii. 1, note is made of the fact that no Ammonite or Moabite should enter the congregation of God, and this would have special relevance if Tobiah were an Ammonite and Sanballat a Moabite.

[5] So H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Camb. B.) (1893), p. 164; H. A. White, in Hastings's *D.B.* ii (1899), 416b; T. K. Cheyne, in *E.B.* iv (1907),

have connected it with the name Beth-horon,[1] and this seems more probable.[2] Torrey [3] thinks the term was one of contempt, and that it indicates that Sanballat had taken up his residence at one of the two Beth-horons, close to Jerusalem, the better to seize his opportunities of interfering with Nehemiah's work.[4] That he was a worshipper of Yahweh is probable, since his sons bore the names Delaiah and Shelemiah,[5] both of which are compounded with the name Yahweh,[6] and his daughter married into the Jerusalem high priestly family.[7] Torrey, as will be seen below, does not identify Nehemiah's contemporary with the father of Delaiah and Shelemiah, but with the son of one of them,

4281 (Cheyne's " New theory " in the appendix to this article may be ignored); J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (1907), p. 58; H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History* (2nd imp. 1911), p. 384; Davis-Gehman, *Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (1944), p. 532; J. Stafford Wright, in *The New Bible Commentary* (1953), p. 373.

[1] Cf. 1 Chron. vii. 24. There were two Beth-horons, situated on the easiest approach to Jerusalem from the west. Cf. A. T. Chapman, in Hastings's *D.B.* i (1898), 280a.

[2] A. Klostermann, in *P.R.E.*, 3rd edn., xiii (1903), 702, connected the name with Harran, in Mesopotamia, which was a great centre of the worship of Sin, whose name forms an element of Sinuballit, or Sanballat. So also S. Feigin, *A.J.S.L.* xliii (1926), 58 n.

[3] Cf. *Ezra Studies* (1910), pp. 634 f.; *J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 384 f.

[4] Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 387; " He had taken up his residence at Beth-horon, a little northwest of Jerusalem, with the express purpose of taking a hand in Jewish affairs. A glance at the map of Palestine, and especially a raised map or air-map, will show that this was a base of operations admirably suited to his purposes." Cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 22nd edn., p. 291, and F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii (1938), 220 f., on the strategic position of the place.

[5] E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* (1911), p. 5 n., conjectures that Sanballat's real name was Shelemaiah, and in this he is followed by Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii. 52 n. This rests on the assumption that the name borne by his second son was identical with his own, while his eldest son would bear the name of Sanballat's father. This is surely hazardous, since there was no regular practice such as this. The name Sanballat is then held to be a foreign name assumed by Shelemaiah when he took the office of governor.

[6] W. F. Albright, in *The Jews* (ed. by L. Finkelstein) (1949), p. 52, says it may be considered as certain that the Yahwism of Sanballat and Tobiah was of a syncretistic structure, with archaic features, presumably something like the religion of the Jewish colonists at Elephantine. The association of Tobiah and of Sanballat's daughter with the Jerusalem Temple (see below) would not suggest that there was any clear difference between their Yahwism and that of Jerusalem.

[7] Cf. Neh. xiii. 28.

but this would establish even more closely his association with the worship of Yahweh. The marriage of Sanballat's daughter to the son of Joiada took place while Nehemiah was absent from Jerusalem, and when he returned it was with some indignation that he learned what had happened. Associated with Sanballat in his opposition to Nehemiah had been Tobiah, who is called an Ammonite,[1] but whose name is again compounded with the name Yahweh, and one Geshem,[2] or Gashmu,[3] an Arabian.[4] When Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem he found Tobiah installed in a room in the Jerusalem Temple.[5] This would again suggest that Tobiah professed the Jewish religion. With characteristic vigour Nehemiah expelled Tobiah and the priestly son-in-law of Sanballat from the Temple, and took steps to get rid of all alien influence from the Jerusalem community.[6]

In Josephus's *Antiquities*[7] we read about a Sanballat, who lived in the time of Darius III and Alexander the Great. Josephus relates that Bagoses, or Bagoas, promised the high priesthood to Jesus, the brother of John, who was the rightful High Priest, but that John slew his brother in the Temple precincts.[8] Bagoas and John, or Johanan, are securely known to us from the Elephantine Papyri. In 408 B.C. the Jews of Elephantine wrote a letter to Bagoas, who was then the Governor of Judaea, in the course of which they refer to an earlier letter sent to him and to Johanan, the High Priest.[9] Johanan was the

[1] Cf. Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 3 (Heb. iii. 35), +.

[2] Cf. Neh. ii. 19; vi. 1 f. [3] Cf. Neh. vi. 6.

[4] H. P. Smith, op. cit. p. 384, says that how Geshem got his name of Arabian cannot now be made out. W. C. Graham, *A.J.S.L.* xlii (1925-26), 276 ff., holds that he was an Arabian, interested in the keeping open of trade routes vital to his people, and that between the rebuilding of the Temple and the arrival of Nehemiah the Edomites had been overthrown by a confederacy of Arab tribes.

[5] Cf. Neh. xiii. 7. According to Neh. xiii. 4 Tobiah was connected by marriage with Eliashib. The Hebrew expression is the same as that used in Ru. ii. 20 to indicate that Boaz was related by marriage to Naomi and Ruth.

[6] Cf. Neh. xiii. 8, 28, 30.

[7] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. vii. 2 (xi. 302 f.); viii. 2 ff. (306 ff.).

[8] *Ibid.* XI. vii. 1 (xi. 298 f.).

[9] Cf. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923), pp. 111 ff. (Papyrus 30). A translation of this papyrus by H. L. Ginsberg may be found in *A.N.E.T.* (ed. by J. B. Pritchard) (1950), p. 492.

son of Joiada,[1] and therefore the brother of the priest who is said in the book of Nehemiah to have married Sanballat's daughter.[2] Johanan's son and successor was Jaddua,[3] who is the last High Priest known to us under the Persian empire, and who is said by Josephus to have been in office at the time of Alexander's conquest.[4]

Here, however, Josephus recounts a story which has curious points of similarity to what is found in the book of Nehemiah. He reports[5] that Jaddua's brother, Manasseh, married Nicaso, the daughter of Sanballat, the Persian Governor of Samaria, whom Darius III had appointed. Sanballat, he tells us, was a Cuthite of the same stock as the immigrants who had been brought to Samaria after its conquest by the Assyrians in 721 B.C., though he was not one of the Samaritan community. On account of his marriage with Sanballat's daughter Manasseh is said to have been driven out of Jerusalem by Jaddua and the elders, and to have taken refuge with his father-in-law, who promised to build him a Temple on Mount Gerizim, like the Temple of Jerusalem.[6]

Before this could be done Alexander appeared upon the Palestinian horizon, following the battle of Issus. Sanballat promptly renounced his loyalty to Darius, and transferred his allegiance to Alexander, leading a large contingent of soldiers to take part in the siege of Tyre.[7] Taking advantage of the occasion he secured authority from Alexander to erect the Temple on Mount Gerizim, which was forthwith built with such speed that within a few months it was completed and Manasseh installed as priest. The speed of the whole business is indicated by the fact that Sanballat is said to have died at the end of the seven months'

[1] Cf. Neh. xii. 11, 22. In xii. 11 the name of Jonathan is almost certainly a scribal error for Johanan. Cf. my *Servant of the Lord* (1952), p. 145 n.

[2] R. Marcus, in *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi (1937), 461 n., observes that in Hebrew usage son may stand for grandson, and hence Sanballat's daughter may have married the grandson of Joiada. Reasons against this will be given below.

[3] Cf. Neh. xii. 11, 22.

[4] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. viii. 4 (xi. 326).

[5] *Ibid.* XI. vii. 2 (xi. 302 f.).

[6] *Ibid.* XI. viii. 2 (xi. 306 ff.).

[7] F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, i (1952), 11, thinks it is possible that there is historical substance in the statement that there were Samaritan contingents in Alexander's army.

siege of Tyre and the two months' siege of Gaza.[1] When Alexander had taken Gaza he hastened to Jerusalem, on leaving which he was met by representatives of the Samaritans, who begged him to visit Shechem and to do honour to their Temple.[2]

The authentic character of Nehemiah's Memoirs has been generally recognized by leading scholars.[3] The circumstantial character of Josephus's narrative, giving it an air of reliability, is manifest in the above summary. Nehemiah does not give us the name of the priest of his story, whereas in Josephus's story we are given the name of the priest and also his wife's. In Nehemiah's story the priest is the brother of Johanan, whereas in Josephus's he is his son. In Nehemiah's story there is no mention of the Samaritan Temple, whereas that is essential to Josephus's, and here the date of the erection of the Temple is very precisely fixed.[4]

Most modern writers regard Josephus's account as unhistorical.[5] Some hold that he has transferred an incident from the

[1] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. viii. 3 f. (xi. 313 ff.).

[2] *Ibid.* XI. viii. 6 (xi. 340). For the Samaritan traditions about Alexander cf. *Chronicon Samaritanum*, chap. xlvi (ed. T. W. J. Juynboll (1848), 184 ff.).

[3] Cf. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1941, 834: "The genuineness of the Memoirs of Nehemiah has never been questioned, but their extent is disputed."

[4] In *Antiq.*, XIII. ix. 1 (xiii. 256) Josephus briefly repeats his story, and adds that the destruction of the Samaritan Temple by Hyrcanus in 128 B.C. was two hundred years after its erection.

[5] Cf. R. Rüetschi, in Herzog, *P.R.E.* xiii (1860), 412 f.: "Was Josephus von einem Sanballat erzählt . . . ist ein sehr ungeschichtliche Erzählung"; H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung* (1895), p. 6: "Dass uns ein apokryphes Buch im Auszuge vorliegt, ist unzweifelhaft"; A. H. Sayce, in Hastings's *D.B.* iv (1902), 391b: "The whole story seems to be derived from some apocryphal Jewish account of the origin of the Samaritan temple"; F. Vigouroux, *D.B.* v (1912), 1443: "Le récit de Josèphe est plein d'anachronismes et ne saurait être accepté"; G. Hölscher, in Kautzsch-Bertholet, *H.S.A.T.*, 4th edn., ii (1923), 561: "Die Ausbildung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Schullegende, von der Josephus abhängig ist, erfolgte nur wenige Menschenalter vor Josephus. . . . Von Tradition über mehrere Jahrhunderte frühere Ereignisse kann damals nicht die Rede sein, wie gerade die ganz konfuse, aus blosser willkürlicher Exegese des Nehemiatextes herausgesponnene Alexander-Jaddualegende zeigt"; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i (1927), 24: "The Alexander part of the story in Josephus is not embellished legend but pure fiction of a species very familiar in the Hellenistic literature of the Jews. . . . A historian may properly decline to admit such testimony as to either fact

time of Nehemiah to the following century; of these some transfer the whole, in so far as there is any reliable kernel of fact in it, to the time of Nehemiah, while others accept Josephus's date for the building of the Temple, but transfer all else to the preceding century.[1] Many years ago C. C. Torrey adopted a different view, and transferred Nehemiah to the fourth century, to the reign of Artaxerxes II.[2] Later he argued that there were two Sanballats,[3] of whom the first preceded Nehemiah, while the second was his contemporary in the fourth century. The latter outlived Nehemiah and survived until the time of Alexander. The view that there were two Sanballats was not new with Torrey. It had been adopted by a number of older scholars,[4]

or date"; E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, ii (1932), 169: "Es ist klar, dass es sich hier überwiegend um eine Legende handelt, die aus Neh. 13_{28} heraus gewachsen ist"; Pfeiffer, op. cit. p. 809: Josephus . . . gives a purely fictitious account of the founding of the Samaritan church"; M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (1950), p. 307: "Diese ganze Erzählung ist voller legendärer Einzelzüge und lässt allerlei Gestalten wie den samarischen Statthalter Sanballat auftreten, die in diesen geschichtlichen Zusammenhang nicht gehören." A. Büchler, *R.E.J.* xxxvi (1898), 1 ff., analyses Josephus's account into three separate strands, of which the first was of Samaritan origin and the third of Jewish anti-Samaritan origin, while the second was of Jewish origin and of a propagandist character. M. H. Segal, in *Assaf Anniversary Volume* (1953), pp. 409 f., agrees with Büchler that the first of these strands was Samaritan propaganda, and suggests that only a Samaritan could have remembered that Sanballat was governor of Samaria, or preserved the name of his daughter, and this view is favoured by the omission of any reference to Nehemiah.

[1] These varieties of view will be separately examined below, where references will be found.

[2] Cf. *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896), pp. 51 ff., and *Ezra Studies* (1910), pp. 238 ff. For more than half a century Torrey has been one of the most stimulating figures amongst Old Testament scholars, and though his views have often found little following, he has had much to teach both followers and critics. In December 1953 he celebrated his ninetieth birthday, amid a shower of congratulations from all over the world, and, though the present paper is critical of some of Torrey's views, the writer yields to no one in his admiration for the Nestor of our studies.

[3] Cf. *The Second Isaiah* (1928), pp. 457 f., and *J.B.L.* xlvii (1928), 380 ff. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 612, rejects Torrey's view, and later (p. 680) says it is unthinkable that Sanballat and his son-in-law were contemporaries of Alexander.

[4] So, e.g. I. Vossius, *De Septuaginta interpretibus*, etc. (1661), p. 134; H. Petermann, in Herzog, *P.R.E.* xiii (1860), 366; I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen* (1911), p. 14; M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (1925),

but had fallen out of fashion. Quite recently, in a study on Ezekiel,[1] L. E. Browne has revived in a new form the view that that prophet lived in the fourth century, at the time of the overthrow of the Persian empire, and has claimed to find references to the building of the Samaritan Temple in the prophecies of the book of Ezekiel. Without re-examining the reliability of Josephus's account, he accepts it as giving an accurate indication of the date of the erection of the Samaritan Temple.[2]

Some re-examination of this question is therefore called for, though it may be said at the outset that there is a complex tangle of issues, on which certainty may not always be possible. The desire for a clear-cut and sure solution of Biblical problems can rarely be satisfied, for we are often left at vital points without any evidence, and can do no more than piece together the bits of evidence we have, to form at best a probable picture.

There is no antecedent improbability in the suggestion that there were two Sanballats.[3] Torrey rightly points out that there are many cases of a grandson bearing the name of his grandfather, and that a second Sanballat, two generations after the first, would be in no way unusual.[4] It would be very surprising, however, for the daughter of the second Sanballat, a great-niece of the daughter of the first Sanballat, to repeat so exactly and with such similar consequences the experience of her great-aunt. If both stories are accepted as historical, then the husband in the second case was the nephew of the husband in the first, and both husbands were chased out of Jerusalem as the result of their marriage. For so exact a repetition of history at an interval of a century, at a distance of two generations on the wife's side and a single generation on the husband's, we should need stronger evidence

p. 30 n.; W. F. Lofthouse, *Israel after the Exile* (Clarendon Bible) (1928), pp. 33, 235 f. Also W. F. Albright, *J.B.L.* xl (1921), 122, accepted two Sanballats, but transferred Josephus's story to the first.

[1] Cf. *Ezekiel and Alexander* (1952).

[2] Cf. ibid. p. 3, where he says 332 B.C. is the exact year when the Samaritan temple was built on Mt. Gerizim. Cf. also pp. 22, 23 f.

[3] Cf. S. A. Cook, in *C.A.H.* vi (1927), 172.

[4] Cf. *The Second Isaiah*, pp. 457 f.

than Josephus's account can supply.[1] For his story is full of improbabilities.

Torrey does not argue for any duplication of this incident,[2] however, as other upholders of the view that there were two Sanballats had done. Since he transfers Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes II, he eliminates the fifth century incident altogether. We may therefore first examine this view, which transfers the whole account in the book of Nehemiah to the following century, in so far as it contains any reliable kernel.

Torrey finds two Sanballats, but not two marriages into the high priestly family. By the identification of the incident recorded in Nehemiah with that recorded in Josephus he is able to attach more historical worth to Josephus's story than most scholars do. He does not discuss some chronological difficulties, however. He observes that since Sanballat was an old man in Josephus's story, dealing with the time of Alexander,[3] he could well have been a young man, not yet in the office of governor, at the time of Nehemiah's mission in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes II, fifty years earlier.[4] But according to the book of Nehemiah the marriage of Sanballat's daughter to the son of the high priest had taken place before Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in or after the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes.[5] If

[1] Cf. Montgomery, op. cit. pp. 67 f.: "There could hardly have been two Sanballats in succeeding centuries, each of whom married his daughter to a member of the high priestly family, an offence in each case visited with excommunication"; A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923), p. 110: "The view that there were two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria and each with a daughter who married a brother of the High Priest of Jerusalem, is a solution too desperate to be entertained." Such a suggestion was rejected as unthinkable by H. Prideaux, *The Old and New Testament Connected* (1845 edn.), i. 288 f. Cf. also the references given below for the view that Josephus has transferred the incident recorded in the book of Nehemiah to the following century. These scholars are all persuaded that the basis of Josephus's story is the Biblical story, and that there were not two Sanballats.

[2] Spak, on the other hand, does argue for the historicity of both the incident recorded in Neh. xiii. 27 f., and that recorded in Josephus for a century later (loc. cit.). [3] Cf. *J.B.L.* loc. cit. p. 389. [4] Ibid. p. 386.

[5] It is commonly said, on the basis of Neh. xiii. 6, that Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, but as L. W. Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (I.C.C.) (1913), p. 45, points out, this is not strictly correct. What the verse says is that Nehemiah returned to court in that year, and "after some days" asked permission to return to Jerusalem. It is improbable that after so

the stories of Josephus and of the Bible are combined, then Sanballat must be supposed to have promised Manasseh a Temple on Mount Gerizim nearly forty years before Alexander appeared on his horizon, when he first began to think of the implementing of his promise. But Josephus says that Sanballat was appointed governor by Darius III, and that the marriage took place after his appointment.[1] This date of his appointment is rejected by Torrey as improbable, on the ground that Darius reigned for but three years and it is unlikely that Sanballat, who died at an advanced age in 332 B.C., should have been so recently appointed.[2] Torrey therefore supposes that Sanballat was appointed Governor by Artaxerxes III. The marriage of Sanballat's daughter and the subsequent expulsion of Manasseh he places in the time of Darius III,[3] however. This involves him in the necessity of denying that Neh. xiii. 28 f. had anything to do with Nehemiah,[4] and involves fresh chronological difficulties, which Marcus points out.[5] For it is highly improbable that an old man such as Torrey depicts Sanballat as being at that time would have had a marriageable daughter, or that the brother of the aged Jaddua would have been an eligible husband.[6]

long an absence from court his return would be for but a very brief time, and, as Batten points out, the things that had happened in his absence would seem to presuppose a long time. We have no means of knowing how long it was, save that the second visit to Jerusalem fell in the same king's reign. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, p. 835, deals with the difficulty in a different way, by supposing that Nehemiah's first period in Jerusalem lasted for but a year, or, at most, two.

[1] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. vii. 2 (xi. 302 f.).

[2] Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 389.

[3] Cf. *The Second Isaiah*, p. 459.

[4] Ibid. and earlier in *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896), pp. 48 f. R. H. Pfeiffer, op. cit. p. 837, rejects Torrey's dismissal of the evidence here. It may be added that C. Steuernagel (*Einleitung in das A.T.* (1912), p. 426), L. W. Batten (*Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 15), and O. Eissfeldt (*Einleitung in das A.T.* (1934), p. 589) all accept these verses as genuine. So, too, S. Mowinckel, *Statholderen Nehemia* (1916), pp. 88 f.

[5] Cf. *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi. 508 f.

[6] It may be noted that if Sanballat's daughter married the grandson of Joiada, as Marcus suggests (*Josephus*, vi. 461 n.), even greater chronological difficulties would arise. For Sanballat and Eliashib were contemporaries in office, the one as Governor of Samaria and the other as High Priest. For the daughter of the one to marry the great grandson of the other would be highly surprising, even though it be allowed that Eliashib was an older man than Sanballat. For it would be unlikely that the bride would be greatly older than her husband.

Much more serious, however, is the difficulty of assigning Nehemiah to the period of Artaxerxes II, in the fourth century. This difficulty has been generally recognized, and accounts for the lack of following Torrey has obtained for his view. If there were two Sanballats, it may be said to be quite impossible to make Nehemiah the contemporary of the second. For the Elephantine Papyri provide us with unassailable evidence that in 408 B.C. Johanan was the High Priest in Jerusalem and Sanballat the Governor of Samaria.[1] Torrey says this is the sole basis for the view that Nehemiah belongs to the fifth century,[2] but it will be seen below that this is not the case. Moreover, since the view that Nehemiah belonged to the fifth century long antedated the finding of the Elephantine Papyri it could scarcely be the case. Since the Jews in Elephantine say that they had written to the sons of Sanballat, it would seem to be probable that Sanballat himself was an old man, who had left the administration of affairs in the hands of his sons.[3] From the same Papyrus we have evidence that Bagoas was at that time the Persian Governor in Jerusalem. If there were two Sanballats, therefore, the time of the *floruit* of the first is securely fixed in the fifth century B.C. In the book of Nehemiah Sanballat is not called Governor, whereas in the Papyri he is stated to be the Governor of Samaria. Torrey argues on this basis that Nehemiah's Sanballat was not yet Governor, at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem.[4] But there is nothing inconsistent with his being Governor in the record in Nehemiah, and it can be more easily understood how he could raise troops to molest Nehemiah, if he

[1] Cf. supra.

[2] Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 380.

[3] Cf. L. W. Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 26: "It suffices to assume that Sanballat was an old man, and that his sons had succeeded him, or were the real administrators of the governorship." So Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii. 118. Several writers have assumed that Sanballat was himself already dead in 408 B.C. So R. Smend, *Th.L.Z.* xxxii (1907), 706; I. Spak, op. cit. p. 14; A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, 252; Höpfl-Miller-Metzinger, *Introductio specialis in V.T.* (1946), p. 187. E. Sachau points out that the language used implies that Sanballat was still alive and governor in name. Cf. *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* (1911), p. 5. Similarly, A. E. Cowley, op. cit. p. 110. N. Messel, *Ezechielfragen* (1945), pp. 23 f., holds that Delaiah and Shelemiah were living in Jerusalem, and were the friends of Bagoas.

[4] Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 386.

were Governor. Moreover, it may be noted that Torrey had earlier, on the basis of the same facts, maintained that Nehemiah's Sanballat was the Governor of Samaria.[1]

Quite apart from the evidence of the Elephantine Papyri, however, and fatal to Torrey's hypothesis of the date of Nehemiah, is the fact that Nehemiah was the contemporary of the High Priest Eliashib, the grandfather of Johanan.[2] Since Johanan was High Priest in 408 B.C. his grandfather's high priesthood cannot be placed thirty years later, but must have fallen before.[3] Johanan is the John of Josephus's account, and the only Eliashib of whom we have any record, who could possibly be identified with Nehemiah's contemporary, is the one just mentioned. It would be quite unjustified to posit another Eliashib in the reign of Artaxerxes II, since Johanan was the father of Jaddua, who

[1] Cf. *Ezra Studies*, pp. 334 f., where Torrey had argued that though Nehemiah's Sanballat is not called Governor, we may regard it as fairly certain that he was in fact Governor of Samaria. This, indeed, was recognized long before the Elephantine Papyri came to light. As long ago as the beginning of the eighteenth century Humphrey Prideaux had referred to him as "Governor of Samaria". Cf. *The Old and New Testament Connected* (1945 edn.), i. 285 (the Preface of this work is dated 1715). [2] Cf. Neh. iii. 1, 20 f.; xiii. 4, 7.

[3] Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1945), 130 f. n., maintains that Johanan became High Priest in 411 B.C. When his father Joiada succeeded to the high priesthood is difficult to determine. In *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 148, I accepted the probability that the incident of Neh. xiii. 28 fell in the high priesthood of Joiada, and not of Eliashib, and that the English punctuation is misleading. Prideaux, op. cit. i. 395 f., goes beyond me and declares that this is the only possible interpretation of the text. Cf. H. Wiener, *J.P.O.S.* viii (1927), 155. J. Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1935), 130 n., takes the opposite view and says Eliashib was certainly still High Priest in 432 B.C. It may be added that Prideaux cited the evidence of the *Chronicon Pascale* that Joiada did not become High Priest until the eleventh year of Darius II (cf. ed. L. Dindorf, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Pars ix. vol. i (1832), 310, or H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinisches Chronographie*, ii (1898), 175) and hence Prideaux transfers this incident in Neh. xiii. 28 to the fifteenth year of Darius. In this he is certainly wrong. E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, E. Tr. I. i. 189 n., says that every attempt to determine chronology accurately with this aid is necessarily doomed to failure. Moreover, since we now know beyond a peradventure from the Elephantine Papyri that Johanan was High Priest in 410 B.C., it is quite impossible that his father could still have been High Priest in the fifteenth year of Darius II, which fell after that date. Cf. J. N. Schofield, *The Religious Background of the Bible* (1944), p. 167, for the suggestion that the incident recorded in Neh. xiii. 28 f. led to the supersession of the then High Priest in favour of Johanan.

was High Priest in the time of Alexander, and Torrey does not propose to posit a second Eliashib.[1] If Nehemiah was contemporary with a Sanballat and also with Eliashib, therefore, he must be placed towards the middle of the fifth century B.C.

We may next observe that in his account of Nehemiah Josephus does not mention Sanballat, and it would seem that he deliberately removed him from that account in order to make him contemporary with Alexander. He does not seem to have known two Sanballats, or he would have been under no necessity to do this. His Sanballat is not represented as a Samaritan, as the grandson of a former Governor and the son of Delaiah or Shelemiah. He is represented as a Cuthite, of the same stock as the Samaritans, but sent to Samaria by Darius III.[2] Josephus's Sanballat does not appear to be a second person, therefore, but to have been taken from the Nehemiah Memoirs, but removed far from Nehemiah in date.

Moreover, the circumstantiality of the mention of the name of Manasseh loses its impressiveness in view of the fact that no Manasseh appears in the Samaritan list of their High Priests.[3] The author who borrowed the name of Sanballat from Nehemiah's Memoirs may just as easily have borrowed the name of Manasseh from some other context, and transferred it to suit his convenience and to give a specious circumstantiality to his narrative.[4] It may further be noted that in the surrounding

[1] Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 383: "We have no reason whatever to doubt that each of these two high-priests held the office for a long term, and there is no need to suppose, as some have done, that there was an intervening incumbent." Earlier Torrey had rejected as unreliable the Chronicler's list of High Priests. Cf. *Ezra Studies*, pp. 219 f.

[2] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. vii. 2 (xi. 302). Josephus expressly says "Darius the last king", though these words are omitted in the Latin version (cf. note in Loeb edn., ad loc.).

[3] Cf. M. Gaster, op. cit. pp. 32 f.

[4] G. Hölscher, in *H.S.A.T.*, loc. cit., thinks the supplying of names in itself suspicious, and finds this to be a mark of a late legend, but Torrey objects to this and thinks these names could never have been forgotten in Jerusalem (*J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 382). It might surely have been supposed that the name of the founder of the Samaritan Temple would not have been forgotten by the Samaritans, or the circumstances of the founding of their Temple, if it was built in express rivalry of the Jerusalem Temple. And, if the name remained so famous as Torrey supposes, we might have expected it to be recorded in the book of Nehemiah, where Torrey finds the marriage and expulsion of the same Manasseh to be

narratives Josephus is universally recognized to present garbled and unreliable history. He places Nehemiah in the reign of Xerxes,[1] instead of Artaxerxes, despite the fact that Xerxes reigned for but twenty years,[2] while Nehemiah returned to the court in the thirty-second year of the reign of his patron.[3] It is curious to find how little accurate history of the Persian period survived in Jewish tradition, and for chronological purposes in this period Jewish sources are of slight value.[4] It may be added

anonymously recorded. It is well-known that in Judges xviii. 30 the priest of the sanctuary at Dan is said to have been the grandson of Manasseh, but the נ is suspended and the Rabbinic view that this was a deliberate change of the name Moses is generally accepted. G. F. Moore, *Judges* (I.C.C.), 2nd edn. (1898), p. 402 n., observes that it is at least a coincidence that in Josephus the first Samaritan High Priest is named Manasseh. That this provides no independent support for Josephus, however, is obvious. For we have no means of knowing how ancient the change is, and it may even depend on Josephus. Moreover, Jewish writers connected the name of this Manasseh with the wicked son of Hezekiah, and not with a Samaritan High Priest. No evidential value can therefore be accorded to it here.

[1] Cf. *Antiq.*, xi. v. 6 (xi. 159).

[2] In *Antiq.*, xi. v. 7 (xi. 168), Josephus locates Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes. In xi. v. 8 (xi. 179) he says the building of the wall was completed in the ninth month of the twenty-eighth year, and that the work had taken two years and four months, whereas the Bible text says that the work took but fifty-two days to complete. Cf. Neh. vi. 15.

[3] Cf. Neh. xiii. 6.

[4] J. A. Montgomery, op. cit. p. 68, calls Josephus irresponsible in Persian chronology, and S. A. Cook, in *C.A.H.*, loc. cit. p. 171, speaks of his ignorance of the chronology of the Achaemenid period. Similarly H. Crosby, *The Book of Nehemiah*, in Lange-Schaff, *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, O.T. vii (1877), 3, says: "The chronology of Josephus is so wretchedly corrupt in the matter of Nehemiah, Ezra, Sanballat, etc., that it is waste time to give him attention." In *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1952), pp. 62 f., I cited some other examples of unreliable chronology of this period in Jewish works, e.g. Daniel's seventy weeks, the 390 years of the Zadokite Work, and the chronology of the *Seder 'Ôlâm Rabba*, which reduces the Persian period to a mere 34 years. J. L. Teicher accuses me of wanting to eat my cake and to have it because after arguing that the 390 years of the *Zadokite Work* is a schematic figure and quite unreliable, I go on to argue that it is, in fact, approximately correct (*J.J.S.*, iv, No. 2 (1953), 51). In fact I neither want to have my cake nor to eat it, but simply throw it away. In my argument for the date of the founding of the sect of the Scrolls and of the composition of the *Zadokite Work* I nowhere base myself on this figure, but make it plain that if in my view it is an approximation to the truth, that is entirely due to accident and not to the author's accurate chronology. It may be added that later Jewish tradition made Alexander the Great contemporary with the High Priest Simon the Just. Cf. Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N.T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, i (1922), 555, where the passage is cited.

that immediately following the account of the building of the Samaritan Temple, Josephus relates how Alexander on his visit to Jerusalem was shown a copy of the book of Daniel, with its prophetic references to himself.[1] Few can be found today to defend the historicity of this account, and most scholars of all schools are firmly convinced that the book of Daniel was not yet written at that time. A historian who is so little trustworthy here can scarcely be used as a reliable authority for the existence of a second Sanballat, or for the repetition of history that would be involved if Joiada's son and grandson both married daughters of Sanballats, and both involved their husbands in the loss of their priestly office.

It might still be regarded as possible, however, that while Josephus or his source has wrongly transferred Sanballat from the fifth century to the fourth, he has correctly indicated the date of the building of the Temple. This then brings us to the second of the views already mentioned, that Josephus's date for the building of the Temple is correct, even though his account of Sanballat's connection with it is completely garbled.

Hölscher once suggested[2] that Josephus is here following Alexander Polyhistor, who provides a usually reliable source. This is no more than conjecture, and it will be seen below that, whatever his source might have been, there is no reason to trust his account. A number of scholars have been prepared to trust it, however, so far as the date of the erection of the Samaritan Temple is concerned.[3] Even a garbled account may contain

[1] Cf. *Antiq.*, XI. viii. 5 (xi. 337).

[2] Cf. *Die Quellen des Josephus für die Zeit vom Exil bis zum jüdischen Kriege* (1904), pp. 43 ff. Hölscher was followed by E. Norden, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xxxi (1913), 661. Cf. Hölscher more recently, in *P.W.* ix. 2 (1916), 1968. Hölscher himself now rejects Josephus's account as a late and worthless legend. Cf. *H.S.A.T.*, loc. cit., and *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion* (1922), p. 172. He holds that the section of Josephus with which we are concerned is an unhistorical legend of Jewish-Alexandrian origin. Cf. *P.W.*, loc. cit.

[3] So A. E. Cowley, in *J.E.* x (1905), 671a; E. Kautzsch, in Herzog-Hauck, *P.R.E.*, 3rd edn. vii (1906), 431 (English trans. in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia*, x (1911), 188a); A. E. Cowley, in *E.B.* iv. (1907), 4260; I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen* (1911), p. 12; C. Steuernagel,

some substratum of history, and the view that we have here one sound fact of history cannot be summarily brushed aside. On the other hand, it cannot be uncritically assumed.

In the book of Nehemiah there is no mention of the building of the Samaritan Temple as the sequel to Nehemiah's action. While the argument from silence must always be used with great reserve, it may be allowed that this is presumptive evidence against the building having taken place at that time, as the result of the expulsion of Sanballat's son-in-law by Nehemiah. It may therefore have taken place at some subsequent date, and perhaps as long after as the date given by Josephus. Browne cannot therefore be unceremoniously dismissed for his acceptance of Josephus's date, though it is to be regretted that he uncritically and without examination accepted a date from a source which has for long been regarded with suspicion, and made it a major argument in a novel hypothesis on the date and interpretation of the book of Ezekiel. For while it may be freely allowed to be possible that Josephus's account may contain some sound reminiscences of history, and that he may have telescoped the story of the intermarriage between the houses of Sanballat and the Jerusalem high priesthood and the story of the building of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, the mere possibility of this is not sufficient to establish its probability.

Einleitung (1912), p. 42; J. Touzard, *R.B.*, n.s. xii (1915), 109 f. n.; L. E. Browne, *Early Judaism* (1929 edn.), p. 207; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 680; E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israel.-jüdischen Volkes*, ii (1932), 170; G. Ricciotti, *Histoire d'Israël* (French trans. by R. Auvray), new edn., ii (1948), 199; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction* (1941), p. 809; T. H. Gaster, in *U.J.E.* ix (1943), 336a; I. G. Matthews, *The Religious Pilgrimage of Israel* (1947), p. 239 n.; A. Médebielle, *Esdras-Néhémie* (in Clamer's *Sainte Bible*) (1949), p. 383. Cf. Oesterley, *History of Israel*, ii. 157, who assigns it to the middle of the fourth century. P. Antoine, *S.D.B.* iii. 546, notes that Eusebius (cf. Migne, *P.G.* xix (1857), col. 488) says that this Temple was built under Alexander, but observes that Eusebius here depends on Josephus and has no independent value. M. H. Segal, in *Assaf Anniversary Volume* (1953), pp. 410 ff., maintains that the Temple was built at the time Josephus states, but not in that manner. He holds that the Samaritans seized the opportunity afforded by the decline of the Persian power to erect the Temple, but not with Alexander's permission, and thinks it might have been built by descendants of Sanballat, and the priests might have been descendants of Manasseh. For this interesting suggestion we have nothing but unsupported conjecture.

For there are some inner improbabilities in the account of Josephus which have not yet been noted. If Sanballat did not revolt from Darius and transfer his allegiance to Alexander until after the siege of Tyre had begun, and authority to build the Samaritan Temple was not obtained until after this transfer, it is highly improbable that the Temple could have been built by the end of the siege of Gaza, nine months after the beginning of the siege of Tyre.[1] For, according to Josephus's own story, Sanballat was apparently himself absent from Samaria during this period, together with a large number of its citizens who were with him in the army of Alexander.[2] That a structure comparable with the Temple of Jerusalem could have been built so rapidly under such conditions is in the highest degree improbable. Nor is the case better if Sanballat is removed altogether from the story, while the erection of the Temple is left at this time. For if Sanballat goes, all the circumstantiality goes out of the story, and the improbability of Alexander's permission having been obtained and the Temple having been built during the sieges of Tyre and Gaza remains unaffected, whether Sanballat or another is thought to have been the prime mover. And if the building of the Temple is divorced from any relation with Alexander, as well as with Sanballat, it can only be said that Josephus does not offer any evidence whatever of such a building.[3]

There is, indeed, some evidence that Samaria did not stand high in the esteem of Alexander soon after the completion of the

[1] This had already been pointed out nearly a quarter of a millennium ago by H. Prideaux, op. cit. i. 291.

[2] Cf. *Antiq.*, xi. viii. 4 (xi. 321). It is here stated that Sanballat came with eight thousand of his people to the help of Alexander, and it would seem to be a natural inference that Sanballat remained with them as their leader, and not that he abandoned them and returned to build the Temple on Mt. Gerizim. Curiously enough, Josephus says below that the Shechemites brought the soldiers whom Sanballat had sent to Alexander when they came to meet the conqueror after his visit to Jerusalem, and Alexander took these troops with him to Egypt (xi. viii. 6 (xi. 342, 345)). This would seem to imply that they had not remained with Alexander. It is probable that this is an independent legend, which takes no account of the earlier story; for Alexander is here represented as not knowing who the Samaritans were (xi. viii. 6 (xi. 343)).

[3] Cf. T. André, in *La Bible du Centenaire*, iii (1947), 414: "Il est prudent de ne pas faire état du récit légendaire et tendancieux de Josèphe." Cf. W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (H.A.T.) (1949), p. 210.

siege of Gaza. For Eusebius records that when Alexander had gone to Egypt, the Samaritans set fire to the house of Andromachus, whom Alexander had left as Governor of Syria, and burnt him to death, so that when the conqueror returned from Egypt he executed great numbers of the Samaritans and exiled others.[1] Moreover, Josephus's own account of Alexander's interview with the Samaritan representatives after his journey to Jerusalem suggests a marked reserve and suspicion, which contrasts with the cordial relations which mark the account of the building of the Temple,[2] and which show that if Josephus's account of the erection of the Samaritan Temple during the operations at Tyre and Gaza cannot be accepted, he cannot be appealed to for support for the likelihood of its erection soon after. Elsewhere Josephus cites from Hecataeus a statement that Alexander gave the district of Samaria to the Jews, but there can be little doubt that this is an exaggeration.[3]

Nowhere in the Old Testament are we given any account of the building of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, and we are left wholly to conjecture as to when that event might have taken place, with very scanty evidence to support our conjecture.[4]

[1] Cf. Migne, *P.G.* xix (1857), 489 (cf. Syncellus, ed. W. Dindorf (1829), 496, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, xx), or *Eusebius*, v (1911), 197 (ed. J. Karst, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*). This incident is also recorded in Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alex.*, iv. viii. 9 f. On this cf. R. Marcus, in *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi. 522 ff.

[2] Cf. *Antiq.*, xi. viii. 6 (xi. 340 ff.).

[3] Cf. *Contra Ap.* ii. 4 (ii. 43). H. St. J. Thackeray comments: "This statement (? of pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism." Cf. Loeb edition, ad loc. R. Marcus, in *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi. 527, says: "We do not know whether this statement actually comes from Hecataeus . . . and is therefore presumably authentic or whether it is taken from a Hellenistic Jewish writer, the so-called Pseudo-Hecataeus, who invented the story for apologetic purposes." Marcus favours a suggestion of Büchler's, that the passage in Josephus ascribes to Alexander a privilege actually conferred by Julius Caesar. Cf. *R.E.J.* xxxvi (1898), 18 ff. Willrich, op. cit. pp. 9 ff., had earlier suggested that the story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem was a reflection into the past of the reception accorded to Marcus Agrippa, but Büchler, loc. cit. pp. 16 ff., criticizes this view.

[4] Cf. H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3rd edn., iv (1864), 283: "Wann der Tempel auf Garîzîm wirklich gebauet und ob sein bau schon von jenem Manasse aus Jerusalem unter der mächtigen hülfe Sanballat's angefangen sei, wissen wir jetzt nicht genau genug."

Many scholars have found references to that Temple in some passages of Trito-Isaiah,[1] but these are neither clear and indisputable, nor is their date so certain that they can be used as a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the Temple.

We may turn now to the third view already noted, which ascribes the erection of this Temple to the fifth century B.C., and maintains that Josephus was a century out in his chronology, but that otherwise his story can be accepted, at least in part.[2] Those who take this view would purge the story of any reference to Alexander and the siege of Tyre, or to Sanballat's transfer of allegiance, but suppose that the building of the Temple followed soon after Nehemiah's expulsion of Sanballat's son-in-law from Jerusalem. Apart from the lack of mention of any such consequence of Nehemiah's action in the Bible, there are many

[1] E. Kautzsch, in *P.R.E.*, loc. cit., cites Isa. lvii. 3 ff.; lxv. 3 ff.; lxvi. 1 ff., 16 ff., following B. Duhm, *Jesaia* (H.K.) (1892), *in locis*. Cf. also T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile* (1898), pp. 22 ff. K. Marti, *Jesaja* (K.H.C.) (1900), thought rather of the pro-Samaritan section of the Jewish population, and has been followed by O. C. Whitehouse, *Isaiah xl-lxvi* (Cent. B.), and G. H. Box, *The Book of Isaiah* (1908) (2nd edn., 1916). J. Skinner, *Isaiah, chapters xl-lxvi* (Camb. B.) (1917), follows Duhm with some reserve. Other editors find no reference to the Samaritans in these passages. So G. W. Wade, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (West. C.) (1911); P. Volz, *Jesaia II* (K.A.T.) (1932); E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. ii (1943); L. Dennefeld, *Les grands Prophètes* (in Clamer's *La Sainte Bible*) (1947). Cf. also R. Kittel, *Geschichte*, iii, 2. Hälfte, 681 f., and L. E. Browne's treatment of Isa. lxv f. in *Early Judaism*, pp. 91 ff. In the second century B.C. the Samaritan Temple would seem to be referred to in Ecclus. l. 25 f., and there is a clear reference to it in 2 Macc. vi. 1 f., where it is put side by side with the Jerusalem Temple but in contrast with it.

[2] So J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, English trans. (1885), p. 498, and *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (5th edn. 1904), p. 194; Bertheau-Ryssel, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester* (K.E.H.) (1887), pp. 356 f.; B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii (1888), 189 ff., and *Biblische Theologie des A.Ts.* i (1905), 355; H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, p. 319; T. K. Cheyne, op. cit. p. 31; C. W. Wilson, in Hastings's *D.B.* iv (1902), 376b; L. Heidet, in Vigouroux's *D.B.* iv (1912), 1418; S. A. Cook, in *C.A.H.* vi (1927), 171; R. H. Kennett, *The Church of Israel* (1933), p. 64 n.; P. Antoine, in *S.D.B.* iii (1938), 545 f.; E. Kalt, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 2nd edn., ii (1939), 576; v.D., in *Bijbelse Woordenboek* (ed. by A. van den Born) (1941), p. 1397; Höpfl-Miller-Metzinger, *Introductio specialis in V.T.* (1946), p. 27; Davis-Gehman, op. cit. p. 532; Bo Reicke, in *S.B.U.* ii (1952), 1034; cf. also S. Mowinckel's examination of Josephus's account in *Statholderen Nehemia* (1916), pp. 208 ff.

reasons for doubting if the religious breach between Jews and Samaritans reached such a point in that age.[1]

The opposition in Nehemiah's time was political, rather than religious. Sanballat, the Governor of Samaria, did not wish to see the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt and the city restored to a position of strength and importance. Earlier in the reign of Artaxerxes there had been an abortive attempt to rebuild the walls,[2] which had been brought to a premature end on the ground of the political danger that might come in the train of such a rebuilding. Sanballat was merely continuing the jealous watch on Jerusalem, and though it was impossible to stop it this time by the same means as before, partly because Nehemiah was armed with authority from the Crown, and partly because he was acting so swiftly that the machinery of an appeal to the royal chancellery would take far too long to be effective, he sought to exploit every avenue open to him to prevent the completion of Nehemiah's work.[3] That he had no hostility to the religion of the Jews or to the Temple at Jerusalem is shown by the fact that his daughter married into the family of the High Priest.

When Nehemiah returned to the city and found the son-in-law of his old political enemy amongst the priests, and Tobiah installed in a room in the Temple, he had no mind to see the influence of his foes working against him within the community. He had had sufficient experience of the wiles of Sanballat to make him suspicious and intolerant. Hence he drove the priest out, and with him all the Samaritan elements who had come into Jerusalem.[4] There was no reason why this should immediately

[1] J. W. Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner* (1908), p. 80, says categorically that the final breach between Jews and Samaritans resulted from the work of Nehemiah. Similarly, A. Vincent, op. cit. p. 251; R. H. Kennett, *The Church of Israel* pp. 64 f. On the other hand, Hölscher, *Geschichte*, p. 172, equally categorically rejects the theory of a schism in that age, while M. Gaster, op. cit. p. 28, ascribes the breach to Ezra. For this last view there is some justification in Samaritan tradition, as will be noted below.

[2] Cf. Ezra iv. 7-23.

[3] Cf. what I have said in dealing with the work of Nehemiah, in *B.J.R.L.* xxxvii (1954-5), 559 f.

[4] N. H. Snaith, *Studies in the Psalter* (1934), pp. 11 ff., suggests that the priest whom Nehemiah drove out was the older brother of Johanan, and was none

lead to a religious breach between the Jews and the Samaritans. If the political tension between Sanballat and Nehemiah had not led to such a breach prior to the marriage of Sanballat's daughter with the son of Joiada, there was no reason why Nehemiah's politically inspired response should cause a religious breach now. For Sanballat was the Persian Governor, and though he had allies in Tobiah and Gashmu, we should not identify the Samaritan people as a whole with him. At an earlier time the Persian authorities in the province had raised questions about the building of the Jerusalem Temple,[1] but that had certainly not precipitated any sharp religious breach between Jews and Samaritans. We should beware of assuming that the deep personal antagonism between Nehemiah and Sanballat, though it must have affected the communities of which they were the leaders, turned itself at once into an irrevocable breach between the two communities.[2]

It may be allowed that the ambition of the displaced priest might seek to find its outlet in the erection of another Temple, where he could continue to officiate, but there are some reasons for doubting whether the Samaritan Temple was really built for him. For while the Jews traced the Jerusalem priesthood from Zadok, the Samaritans did not,[3] and therefore they have no tradition of a High Priest with such an ancestry as Joiada's son would yield. It is well known that Zadok suddenly appeared on the scene after David's conquest of Jerusalem, and that he is

other than the Jesus, or Jeshua, whom Johanan is said by Josephus to have afterwards slain. In this case he had already returned to Jerusalem and had been slain before the arrival of Ezra. The priests who were displaced with him by Nehemiah are identified by Snaith with the Korahites, and the suggestion is made that in the time of Ezra a concordat was reached whereby they were allowed to return to the Temple, but with reduced status.

[1] Cf. Ezra v. 3 ff. In view of what is recorded in Ezra iv. 1 ff., it is not improbable that the action of the authorities was due to Samaritan instigation.

[2] Cf. L. E. Browne, *Early Judaism*, p. 149: "The opposition of Sanballat and Tobiah to Nehemiah was not an attack of heathen against the servants of Yahweh, much less was it due to unfriendly feelings towards the Jewish people. It was purely political rivalry, arising probably because Nehemiah's arrival curtailed the authority of Sanballat, and threatened the supremacy of Samaria, over Jerusalem."

[3] Cf. E. Robertson, *The Old Testament Problem* (1950), pp. 174 f.

given two different genealogies in the Bible.[1] In 2 Sam. viii. 17 he is said to be the son of Ahitub, and the reader could only suppose that he was of the family of Eli.[2] It is almost certain that there is textual corruption in the verse and that originally Zadok was given no genealogy at all here.[3] In a later age, however, he was provided with a full genealogy back to Aaron in the line of Eleazar,[4] and not in the line of Ithamar, to which Eli belonged.[5] The Samaritans traced their line of High Priests back to Eleazar, but their line broke off much higher up than Zadok. Both the Samaritan list and the list in Chronicles agree substantially from Aaron down to Uzzi, the seventh name in the

[1] That Zadok was not really an Israelite priest at all originally, but the pre-Davidic Jebusite priest, is a view which has been held by several modern scholars, and to which I have more than once announced my adhesion. Cf. *J.B.L.* lxiii (1939), 113 ff., and *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (1950), p. 464. Cf. also S. Mowinckel, *Ezra den Skriftlærde* (1916), p. 109 n.; H. R. Hall, in *The People and the Book* (ed. by A. S. Peake) (1925), p. 11; A. Bentzen, *Studier over det Zadokidiske præsterkabs historie* (1931), pp. 8 ff., and *Z.A.W.*, ii (N.F. x) (1933), 173 ff.; K. Möhlenbrink, *Z.A.W.* lii (N.F. xi) (1934), 204; G. Widengren, *Psalm* 110 *och det sakrale kungadömet i Israel* (1941), p. 21; H. Ringgren, in *S.B.U.* ii. 1004. J. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, English trans. (1940), p. 153, and I. Hylander, *Der literarische Samuel-Saul-Komplex* (1932), p. 291, do not quite commit themselves to this view.

[2] Cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 3.

[3] The text reads: "And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests." This cannot possibly be right. For we know that Abiathar, who was David's priest during the period when he was an outlaw, was still priest at the beginning of Solomon's reign. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 27. Moreover, 2 Sam. xx. 25 states that Zadok and Abiathar were the priests. So long ago as the seventeenth century it was perceived that we should read "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech" (so Tirinus, *Biblia maxima versionum cum annotationibus*, iv (1660), 460), and this is indeed the reading of the Syriac version. F. J. V. D. Maurer, *Commentarius grammaticus criticus in V.T.* i (1835), 184, proposed the reading "Zadok, and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub" (cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 20), and so F. Hitzig, in Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (1842), p. 166, while J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (1871), p. 177, proposed the order "Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, and Zadok". This leaves Zadok without genealogy in the older sources, and is almost certainly correct. K. H. Graf, *De templo Silonensi* (1855), p. 13, held that Zadok belonged to the house of Eli, and that he and Ahimelech were sons of the same father. But this makes 1 Sam. ii. 27 ff. meaningless, yet the supersession of Abiathar by Zadok is said in 1 Kings ii. 27 to fulfil that word. Of any other Ahitub who would be appropriate the books of Samuel leave us without trace.

[4] Cf. 1 Chron. vi. 4 ff., 50 ff. (Heb. v. 30 ff., vi. 35 ff.).

[5] *Ibid.* xxiv. 3.

Samaritan list and the sixth in the Jewish, but thereafter the two lines divide.[1] There is thus no reason whatever to suppose that the ejected Jerusalem priest became the Samaritan High Priest. For it must be emphasized that there is no hint of this in the Bible, and the only support is Josephus's demonstrably garbled account.[2]

We have, therefore, no means of knowing when the Samaritan Temple was built.[3] It is conceivable that it was erected at some time in the fourth century, perhaps long before the time of Alexander.[4] But it is equally conceivable that it was not.[5] We have nothing but unsupported conjecture to build on, and it is unprofitable to indulge in such conjecture. What is of much more importance is the fact that the erection of the Samaritan Temple and the Samaritan schism are two quite separate questions, and the one may not have synchronized with the other.[6]

[1] Cf. E. Robertson, op. cit. p. 175. Cf. also Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, p. 298.

[2] I. Spak, op. cit. p. 3, rightly observes that but for the story in Josephus we should have no reason whatever to think of the Samaritan schism in connection with the incident recorded in Neh. xiii. 28.

[3] Cf. G. Hölscher, in *H.S.A.T.*, loc. cit.: "Das erste sichere Datum ist die Existenz des Garizim-tempels im Jahre 128 . . .; die Zeit seiner Erbauung ist . . . unbekannt."

[4] C. F. Kent, *History of the Jewish People* (1927 edn.), p. 221, dates the building of the Temple not far from 400 B.C., while P. Antoine, *S.D.B.* iii. 547, suggests the possibility that it was begun under Darius II but finished under Alexander. On the other hand, E. Sellin, *Geschichte des israel.-jüdischen Volkes*, ii. 170, says it is wholly improbable that it was built in the Persian period.

[5] Samaritan tradition says the Temple on Mt. Gerizim was restored by Sanballat in the time of Zerubbabel. Cf. P. Antoine, in *S.D.B.* iii. 546; also Juynboll, op. cit. p. 314. This date is accepted by H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, loc. cit. p. 228. It is curious to find Samaritan tradition agreeing with Josephus in connecting Sanballat with this work of building, but disagreeing by nearly two centuries as to the date when he lived. Cf. *Chronicon Samaritanum*, chap. xlv (ed. Juynboll, pp. 181 ff.). The Bible and the Elephantine Papyri enable us to date Sanballat securely half way between these dates, but here he is not connected with the erection of this Temple.

[6] Torrey connects the two events definitely and categorically, and says the schism took place in 332 B.C. Cf. *J.B.L.*, loc. cit. p. 384. On the other hand, cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i (1927), 24: "It is this claim"—i.e. the claim that Gerizim, and not Zion, was the place which God had chosen for His habitation —"not the mere building of the Shechemite temple, that constitutes the Samaritan schism".

The Elephantine Papyri show us that at the end of the fifth century no complete breach between Jerusalem and Samaria was known to the colonists up the Nile.[1] When their temple was

[1] Cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 110: "The fact that the Jews of Elephantine applied also to Delaiah and Shelemaiah at Samaria and mention this to the authorities at Jerusalem, shows that (at any rate as far as they knew) no religious schism had as yet taken place." So also Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, p. 458. R. Marcus, in *Josephus* (Loeb edn.), vi. 507, draws the opposite conclusion that the breach had occurred. He thinks the Jews of Elephantine may or may not have heard about the schism when they wrote to Johanan, but it is probable that they had heard about it by 408 B.C. when they wrote the letter which has survived. Others had earlier suggested that it was the lack of response from Johanan which led to this fresh appeal in different quarters. So L. Hennequin, in *S.D.B.* ii (1934), 1010, and A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Eléphantine* (1937), p. 252. Naturally, it was the lack of response to the first appeal which led to the second, but it is doubtful if we should read into this the disapproval of Johanan and the appeal to the opposing interests in Palestine. The first appeal was made to Bagoas and Johanan; the second to Bagoas and the sons of Sanballat. Josephus tells the story of the friction between Bagoas and Johanan, which led to the murder of his brother by Johanan (see above), and the consequent penalties which Bagoas imposed, but that was in the reign of Artaxerxes II and later than this Papyrus, and we are not justified in antedating the tension. The first appeal was made to the civil and religious authorities in Jerusalem; the second was made to the civil authorities in Jerusalem and Samaria. What was wanted was the permission of the Persian authorities to rebuild the Elephantine temple, and if the influence of both Jerusalem and Samaria could be secured this would be an advantage. In the first place appeal was made to the civil and religious authorities in Jerusalem, since on a religious matter the civil authorities could not be expected to move without the support of the religious authorities. It is gratuitous to suppose that Johanan opposed the request, and that now Bagoas took action in opposition to Johanan's wishes. Moreover, if the schism had taken place and the Gerizim temple had been erected, we should have expected the second appeal to have been sent not only to Delaiah and Shelemaiah, but to the Samaritan priest, who might have been expected to be more ready to support their request. If the signatories to the letter really knew that Bagoas and the Samaritan leaders were hostile to Johanan, it was hardly tactful to mention that their first appeal had been to Johanan. Further, the fact that when the reply was sent it went in the name of the civil authorities of Jerusalem and Samaria (cf. Cowley, AP. 32) would suggest that these authorities were in cordial relations with one another on matters of religious policy, and would not suggest—though it would not rule out—that the communities they governed were deeply at variance on these matters. It may further be noted that when trouble developed between Bagoas and Johanan, Johanan's brother was in close relations with Bagoas. Even if Johanan were opposed to the Elephantine appeal, therefore, it may have been that there was another party in Jerusalem which took a different view. We should beware therefore of assuming that any final breach between Jerusalem and Samaria had

destroyed and they wanted authority to rebuild it, they invoked the help of the Jerusalem High Priest and, later, of the Samaritan authorities, Delaiah and Shelemiah, who were the brothers-in-law of the expelled priest.[1] They do not seem even to have been aware of any family feud that had followed Nehemiah's action, much less any breach between the whole communities.

The existence of a Temple outside Jerusalem was no obstacle to association. The Elephantine Jews could even appeal to the High Priest for help in securing permission to rebuild the Temple in their midst. The mere existence of a Temple on Mount Gerizim, therefore, need not itself have involved an irreparable breach.[2] It is true that the book of Deuteronomy allowed but one legitimate sanctuary,[3] and it is almost certain that Josiah's reform had enforced this law; but it is certain that it was only a temporary enforcement. The displaced sanctuaries and the overthrown practices had begun again to appear before the destruction of Jerusalem,[4] and we have no precise information as

taken place. At most one party in Jerusalem can be assumed to have been hostile, and there is no real evidence even of that. J. Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1935), 126 f., points out that, of the family of Eliashib, Johanan appears to be the only member who was not against the policy of Nehemiah and Ezra, while W. F. Lofthouse, *Israel after the Exile*, p. 47, observes: "Nehemiah gives one the impression that he could have managed Sanballat and Tobiah with ease if it had not been for Eliashib and his family."

[1] Cf. line 18 of the letter: "We sent a letter to your lordship (i.e. Bagoas) and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews"; and line 24: "Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria" (translation of Cowley).

[2] Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, i. 24: "It is probable that Shechem . . . had all along been a place of worship, with a priesthood of its own and a cultus not unlike that in Jerusalem, though, of course, lacking the *sacra publica*. . . . As such there was no reason why the Jews should concern themselves particularly about it. All this took an entirely different complexion when the claim was set up that Gerizim, and not Zion, was the place which God had chosen for his habitation. . . . It is this claim, not the mere building of the Shechemite temple, that constitutes the Samaritan schism."

[3] Cf. Deut. xii. 5 ff.

[4] Cf. Jer. xiii. 27; xviii. 13 ff.; Ezek. vii. Cf. what I have said in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (Theodore Robinson Festschrift) (1950), p. 168: "If Josiah's reform was the religious side of a bid for freedom which ended in the death of the king and Egyptian rule, until the latter gave place to Babylonian, it could hardly hope to maintain itself. It would be discredited by failure, precisely as the women say to Jeremiah in xliv. 18. Whether Egypt or Babylon

to when they were finally suppressed.[1] At the end of the fifth century B.C. the Jewish authorities could be presumed to look with complacency on the existence of a temple at Elephantine, which could serve a community there which was cut off from the Jerusalem Temple, and it might have looked with equal complacency on a Temple on Mount Gerizim, either then or later, since the political tension which had appeared between Jerusalem and Samaria more than once in the post-exilic days had made the Samaritans but coldly welcomed visitors in Jerusalem. The fact that we nowhere have any account of the precise moment when the Jews ceased to have dealings with the Samaritans itself suggests that there was no precise moment, and that the feud was one which slowly developed.[2] When it became irrevocable may not be known; but we have some indications of a time before which it had so become.

Hölscher has suggested that the breach did not take place until the second century B.C.,[3] while Albright goes further and ascribes it to the first century B.C.[4] These dates seem improbably late. For it is hard to see why the Samaritans did not accept more than the Pentateuch if that were so. Their non-acceptance of the historical books, known as the Former Prophets, could be understood, since there is a bias against the northern kingdom in

imposed a religious policy on Judah as Assyria had done or not would matter little. All heart would have gone out of the reform movement, and there would be a steady drift back to the old ways which none would stay."

[1] H. Birkeland, *Acta Orientalia*, xii (1934), 89 f., suggests that the Elephantine Jews had heard of the centralization of the cultus after they had sent their first letter. They therefore sent the second letter to Bagoas because he was against the High Priest, and to the sons of Sanballat because the Samaritan community did not share Jerusalem ideas on centralization.

[2] Montgomery, op. cit. pp. 71 f., maintains that relations between the priests of Jerusalem and Samaria continued for long. "It is not necessary", he says, "to hold that the schism from the beginning excluded social and religious intercourse. . . . The close relationship in theology and practice of the Samaritans with the later Sadducees, who were the party of the hierarchy, can best be explained by the supposition of the maintenance of intercourse between the priests of Jerusalem and of Shechem."

[3] Cf. *Geschichte*, p. 170. In *P.W.* ix. 2 (1916), 1968 n., Hölscher says the Samaritan schism first took place in the Maccabaean period.

[4] Cf. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd edn. (1946), p. 336, and *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 81 (Feb. 1941), p. 6.

the editing of those books. The non-acceptance of the prophetical books, of Job and of the Psalter, to name no others, could not so easily be understood if the breach were so late. For Ben Sira offers us evidence of the place these books had obtained by the beginning of the second century,[1] while if the Psalter had been used in the worship of the Temple, there is no reason why it should not have been used equally in the worship of the Samaritan Temple prior to the breach, or why it should have been rejected after the breach.

It seems much more likely that the breach had become so deep that a reconciliation was impossible before these books had secured anything like so firm a place as they had by the time of Ben Sira. So far as the Psalter is concerned, while many of the individual psalms are undoubtedly old and pre-exilic, the present collection to form the Psalter is probably post-exilic, and dates from long after the exile. The Latter Prophets, again, while containing much ancient material which derives from the prophets to whom it is ascribed, may with probability be supposed to have been first collected in their present form in the fifth or fourth century B.C.[2] If the breach between Jews and Samaritans had become final in the fourth century, or even had reached an advanced stage then, we could understand how it was that these books failed to win acceptance by the Samaritans.

We have, indeed, a clear indication that the breach had become complete well before the second century. When the Chronicler compiled his history he deliberately left out the history of the northern kingdom. The Deuteronomic editor of the books of Kings had expressed his condemnation of the northern kingdom because of its maintenance of the shrines of Dan and Bethel, and because its people did not repair to the Temple at Jerusalem, but the Chronicler went far beyond this. He omitted the history of the northern kingdom altogether. He no longer recognized it as Israelite at all. To him it was an alien community, that had no more part in the history of the people of God than other foreign countries. The date of the Chronicler is not known with certainty, but there are few who

[1] Cf. Ecclus, xlvii ff.

[2] Cf. my *Growth of the Old Testament* (1950), p. 87.

place him later than the middle of the third century B.C., and many put him substantially earlier.[1] All we can say with reasonable certainty, therefore, is that at some time before the middle of the third century B.C., and perhaps before the beginning of that century, the breach with the Samaritans had become complete. If the Samaritan Temple was erected in the fourth century B.C., that may have aggravated relations to some extent, though we have no evidence that the actual erection played any notable part in the development of the schism.

It is interesting to note that Samaritan tradition does not link the breach with Nehemiah, but does treat Ezra with the utmost bitterness.[2] This would suggest that Ezra played a larger part in bringing it about than did Nehemiah. This is to be understood. For while the particularism of Nehemiah was largely of political inspiration, Ezra's was religiously based. Into the vexed

[1] A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive* (1950), p. 637, assigns the Chronicler's work to *circa* 190 B.C., while Hölscher, *H.S.A.T.* i. 500, assigns it to the second century B.C. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the O.T.*, p. 812, assigns it to about 250 B.C., while M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I* (1943), p. 197, assigns it more broadly to the third century B.C. (with this contrast *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch* (1940), p. 67 n., where Noth had adopted the date *circa* 400 B.C.), and so A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 2nd edn. (1949), p. 240. S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.*, 9th edn. (1913), p. 518, gives the date as "shortly after 333 B.C." In *The Growth of the Old Testament* (1950), p. 165, I gave the date as about 300 B.C., and L. Marchal, *Les Paralipomènes* (in Clamer's *Sainte Bible*) (1949), p. 12, gave the wider limits 350-250 B.C. R. A. Bowman, in *The Interpreter's Bible*, iii (1954), 554, goes back somewhat earlier to 365-350 B.C. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1934), p. 613, offers the date *circa* 400 B.C., and so also W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (H.A.T.) (1949), p. xxv, and A. Fernández, *Comentario a los libros de Esdras y Nehemías* (1950), pp. 13 ff., while Rothstein-Hänel, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch der Chronik* (K.A.T.), 2. Lief. (1927), p. lxix, hold that the Chronicler's groundwork was prepared *circa* 432 B.C., and that it was revised *circa* 400, and subsequently interpolated. W. F. Albright, *J.B.L.* xl (1921), 104 ff., argued that Ezra was himself the Chronicler.

[2] Cf. Cook, in *C.A.H.* vi. 173; M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 28 f. Cf. also E. N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, *R.E.J.* xliv (1902), 220 ff. H. Cazelles, *V.T.* iv (1954), 130 ff., holds that there was no conflict between Ezra and the Samaritans, and that there were two schools in Judaism after the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, the one honouring Nehemiah and the other honouring Ezra, and that the Chronicler tried to bring the two schools together. It is hard to see why Samaritan tradition should remember Ezra with hatred, rather than Nehemiah, if this view is true.

question of the chronological relation of Ezra's work to that of Nehemiah it is not necessary to go here.[1] A growing number of scholars has accepted the view, first propounded by Van Hoonacker, that while Nehemiah belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes I Ezra belongs to the reign of Artaxerxes II,[2] and though there are many who still dispute this,[3] it seems to me the most reasonable view. There are others who place Ezra after Nehemiah, but still in the reign of Artaxerxes I.[4] For our present purpose the difference is not considerable. For whether Ezra is placed about 430 B.C. or about 400 B.C., if his work exacerbated relations and increased the strain between Jews and Samaritans, we should be left with a probable period ranging from this time to about 350 B.C. as the period during which relations reached the breaking point. It is possible that even during this period there might have been intervals of rapprochement between north and south, as there must have been throughout the whole post-exilic period.[5]

Finally, something must be said of the bearing of this on the Pentateuchal problem. It has been said that the Samaritans accept the Hebrew Pentateuch, but only this section of the Jewish Canon. A great many minor variations mark their text, but only a few variations of greater significance distinguish the two texts.[6] The Samaritans use their own special script, of course, and an argument for the date of the schism has been based on this. According to Jewish tradition Ezra transcribed the Pentateuch into the Aramaic character,[7] and it has been suggested that this was done in order to keep the Jewish form

[1] I have discussed this at length in *The Servant of the Lord* (1952), pp. 131 ff., and more briefly in *B.J.R.L.*, xxxvii (1954-5), 550 ff.

[2] For an incomplete list of references cf. *The Servant of the Lord*, pp. 133 f.

[3] An incomplete list of recent scholars who take the view that Ezra preceded Nehemiah will be found ibid. p. 135.

[4] Cf. ibid. pp. 136 f., for references to some of the scholars who take this view.

[5] Cf. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 71 ff., on the continuing intercourse between Samaritans and Jews. M. H. Segal, in *Assaf Anniversary Volume* (1953), p. 412, suggests that Ezra vi. 21 refers to Samaritan groups who repaired to Jerusalem after the death of Sanballat.

[6] On the Samaritan Pentateuch, cf. E. König, in Hastings's *D.B.*, extra vol. (1904), pp. 68 ff.

[7] Cf. T. B. Sanhedrin, 21b.

of the text distinct from the Samaritan.[1] According to the Samaritan text of Deut. xxvii. 4 the reading of the Law was to be on Mount Gerizim, whereas according to the Jewish text it was to be on Mount Ebal. That the Samaritan text is here original has been allowed by a number of scholars,[2] since Mount Gerizim was the mount of blessing, while Mount Ebal was the mount of cursing.[3] If this does represent a Jewish alteration of the text, we could well understand that Ezra should wish to secure its transmission without risk of correction by the Samaritan text. On the other hand, however, the view has been expressed that the form of the Samaritan character indicates a date later than the time of Ezra, and the artificial fixation of this character is thought to be a possible pointer to the time of the schism.[4] This would seem to be a very precarious line of argument.

The book of Deuteronomy is quite certainly older than the time of Ezra, and if Ezra or a later hand introduced changes into its text it would not be surprising for the Samaritans to have older copies which they treasured and recopied. The more difficult

[1] Cf. M. Gaster, op. cit. p. 28: "There could only have been one reason for such a drastic step, namely, to break completely and to eliminate the Samaritan text from circulation among the Jews, to relegate it to a place of inferiority or declare it spurious as well as incorrect and unreliable, as was often declared in the Rabbinic writings, and to wean the people from any contact or any knowledge of the old script. The new alphabet formed the impassable barrier between the two."

[2] It may suffice here to quote Moore, *Judaism*, i. 25 f.: "In Deut. 27, 4, the Jewish text has 'Mount Ebal', where the whole tenor of the context demands 'Gerizim', as the Samaritan Hebrew reads; the same change has been made in the Jewish text in Josh. 8, 30. . . . Shechem-Gerizim was therefore manifestly the place so often spoken of in Deuteronomy where God would put his name; Jerusalem had usurped a precedence never meant for it. So far as the letter of Scripture went, the Shechemites could make out an embarrassingly good case."

[3] Cf. Deut. xxvii. 12 f.

[4] Cf. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 336, where it is maintained that a relatively late date for the origin of the Samaritan script is highly probable, and that the retranscription of the Samaritan Pentateuch into the archaizing Samaritan script should be dated in the early first century B.C. or slightly later, and that this retranscription symbolized the refusal of the Samaritans to follow the modernists of Jerusalem. B. D. Eerdmans, *The Religion of Israel* (1947), p. 236, maintains that the Samaritan script was invented by the Samaritans as their reply to Ezra's introduction of the Aramaic script.

problem concerns the other books of the Pentateuch. For it has long been a common critical hypothesis that the book of the Law which Ezra brought from Babylonia in his hand was either the present Pentateuch, or the Priestly Code.[1] In the latter case the final redaction of the Pentateuch in its present form is ascribed to a time shortly after Ezra's mission.[2] If the hated Ezra brought any part of the Pentateuch, it is often thought difficult to see how the Samaritans could accept it as part of their law, especially if the work of Ezra played a major part in widening the breach. It is highly improbable that the Samaritans borrowed the Pentateuch from the Jews after the breach had become complete, and almost certain that the whole Pentateuch must have been accepted as the work of Moses before things had reached such a point.

To traverse the critical hypothesis of the compilation of the Pentateuch is both impossible and unnecessary here. If its thesis that the Priestly Code had been compiled in Babylonia during or after the exile is allowed, there is no reason to suppose that Ezra had himself written it. His mission was not to promulgate a new law for the first time, but to make normative in Jerusalem a law which he brought with him from Babylonia, and which was already accepted in Babylonia as the law of Moses.[3] The Samaritans derived their religion from Moses no less than

[1] E. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums* (1896), pp. 206 ff., defends the view that Ezra's law book was P. So also Carpenter and Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch* (1902), p. 265, and Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the O.T.* (1934), p. 62. On the other hand, J. Morgenstern, *H.U.C.A.* x (1935), 145 n., holds that the Grundschrift of P was a full generation or more after Ezra, while R. H. Kennett, *The Church of Israel* (1933), p. 64, believes that the Law published by Ezra comprised the whole Pentateuch, and so A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, 2nd edn. (1949), p. 108. M. Noth, *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch* (1940), pp. 62 f. n., says: "Wir wissen einfach nicht, was dieses 'Gesetz in der Hand des Esra' gewesen ist und können höchstens vermuten, dass es eine Zusammenstellung aus vorexilischer Zeit überlieferter Gesetze mit vielleicht noch einigen neu verfassten Stücken war." H. Cazelles, *V.T.* iv (1954), 120 ff., maintains that whereas the law presupposed by the work of Nehemiah was D, Ezra's law was P.

[2] L. E. Browne, *Early Judaism*, pp. 185 ff., argues that Ezra's Law book was Deuteronomy. He nevertheless holds (ibid. p. 199) that the Pentateuch was completed shortly after the time of Ezra, and in any case before 330 B.C.

[3] Cf. Albright, in Finkelstein's *The Jews*, p. 54.

the Jews, and whatever opposition they might show towards Ezra, and however much they might resent his attitude of intolerance towards them, there was no reason why they should not accept a work which they, as much as the Jews of Babylonia or Ezra himself, may well have believed to be the work of Moses.[1] It is possible that this work was already known in Palestine before Ezra came.[2] To have passed off as a work of Moses something which had just been written and of which no one but himself knew would have been very difficult. In the case of Deuteronomy this was possible because the work was found in the Temple, where it had probably lain for so long a time that no one knew when it was put there. There is no suggestion that Ezra's lawbook had just been discovered in Babylonia, and there would have been no special appropriateness about its discovery there comparable with that of the finding of Josiah's lawbook. But if the work had been compiled long before Ezra's own time and the work had been known amongst the exiles though no one had any precise knowledge whence it came, it would be possible for it to be accepted as an ancient work, carrying the authority of Moses. In such a case the work could have been known in Palestine to both Jews and Samaritans before Ezra made his journey. It was not, however, put into force, just as Deuteronomy had not been continuously enforced after it became known in the time of Josiah. Ezra's mission was to bring religious practice into accord with this lawbook, and there is no reason why the Samaritans should not accept the Law.

[1] R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* (1946), pp. 217 ff., rightly says that Manasseh would be unlikely to carry to Samaria a new and innovating Code introduced by Ezra, and if he did it would be unlikely to be accepted there if the promulgation of the Code and the schism were closely related events. These considerations are less effective against the view expressed above. If Ezra was not the author of the Code, and if the schism was not a single clear-cut event, but a process which was interrupted by periods of rapprochement, the argument loses its force. It is a pity that Josephus's fictitious Manasseh has so bedevilled the issues.

[2] Cf. Albright, in Finkelstein's *The Jews*, loc. cit. W. R. Arnold, *J.B.L.* xxxi (1912), 13 f., argues that the so-called Passover Papyrus from Elephantine offers evidence of the existence of the Holiness Code, and possibly of P, before 419 B.C., and therefore before Ezra's mission, if the date 397 B.C. for that mission is correct.

They could reject Ezra without rejecting Moses. If the breach between Jews and Samaritans, though enlarged by the exclusiveness of Ezra, was not yet final, and did not become final for half a century or more after the time of Ezra, with some lessening of tension for a time after Ezra disappeared from the scene, and if the Pentateuch reached its present form early in that period, there would be no difficulty about the Samaritans continuing to cherish a work all of whose material was believed to have come down from Moses.[1]

That the Samaritan Temple was in existence by the time the breach was complete, at whatever time it may have come into existence, is highly probable. For if the Samaritans held the Pentateuch in honour they must have desired to follow its laws, and therefore must have had an altar and a sanctuary. Nor were they without solid grounds for claiming that their sanctuary was in accordance with the law. The book of Deuteronomy demands a single shrine for all Israel, but does not directly state where that shrine should be. Shechem plays so important a part in Deuteronomy, however, that it has long been thought by many scholars to be probable that its compilers had Shechem in mind as the appropriate location of the sanctuary.[2] If the work were prepared early in the reign of Manasseh, its authors may well have thought of a new unified and independent Israel, consisting of all the tribes, with its one shrine centrally placed at a spot which had more ancient associations with Israel's history than Jerusalem.[3] But the fact that it was found at Jerusalem and in the Temple, and at a time when Judah had a pious and reforming king, sufficed to ensure that the Jerusalem Temple should be accepted as the central shrine. Later, during the period of the

[1] Cf. Kautzsch, *P.R.E.*, loc. cit., where it is maintained that the hatred after Nehemiah cannot be held to necessitate the acquisition of the Pentateuch before that time.

[2] Cf. B. Luther, in E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (1906), pp. 542 ff.; G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel* (1946), p. 56; I. Engnell, *Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, vii (1946), 21 f. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 241, thinks Deuteronomy had material from Shechem as its nucleus.

[3] Cf. what I have written in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy* (Theodore Robinson Festschrift), pp. 166 f.

exile, Ezekiel sketched the programme for a reorganization of religion.[1] Many scholars have thought that he too contemplated a central sanctuary in northern Israel and not in Jerusalem.[2] But again circumstances determined otherwise. If, however, it had not been without reason that planners had thought of a northern shrine, the Samaritans were not without reason in claiming that their shrine was the rightful one. But history rarely goes along the lines laid down by the planners, because so many factors other than reason go into its making. Nor did the Samaritans produce any religious leaders with the same dynamic quality as Ezra. From our safe distance it is easy to criticize Ezra for his intolerance; but it may well have been that but for that intolerance Judaism would have faded away, leaving as little mark on the course of the world's religious history as the Samaritans have done.

[1] Ezek. xl ff.

[2] Cf. C. Mackay, *Princeton Theological Review*, xx (1922), 399 ff., 661 ff.; xxi (1923), 372 ff.; xxii (1924), 27 ff.; *Expository Times*, xxxiv (1922-3), 475 ff.; lv (1943-4), 292 ff., and *C.Q.R.* cxix (1934-5), 173 ff.; M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, p. 15; J. Smith, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1931), pp. 66 ff.; L. E. Browne, *Ezekiel and Alexander*, pp. 10, 17 ff. Cf. also W. L. Wardle, in *Supplement to Peake's Commentary* (1936), pp. 12 f., where it is held that Ezekiel thought of a site north of Jerusalem. So long ago as 1771, G. J. L. Vogel, in his annotations on the posthumously published work of G. L. Oeder, *Freye Untersuchung über einige Bücher des A.Ts.*, pp. 386 ff., maintained that Ezek. xl-xlviii were written in the Samaritan interest to persuade the Jews to abandon the Jerusalem Temple for a new shrine.

CARLYLE'S LETTERS [1]

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AMONG the Victorians no one possessed more remarkable eyes than Thomas Carlyle. No one managed to stay in the centre of things and to enjoy an excellent point of vantage from which to observe people and events more consistently than he. No one saw more clearly or reacted more vigorously and interestingly to what he saw. No one more habitually tried to understand what he saw and to interpret it in terms of philosophical principles. Hence, perhaps an almost ideal method for making a study in depth of the Victorian period would be that which combined the perspective of distant time which we are beginning to have as that age recedes farther and farther away with the intimate on-the-scene record and commentary of Carlyle.

Yet up to now the use of such a method has been impossible because both the perspective and adequate means for observing the age through Carlyle's eyes have been lacking. The passing of time has gradually solved the problem of perspective, but the privilege of seeing Carlyle's world fully through his own eyes will become a possibility only when the complete texts of all his letters have been gathered and put in order.

The formidable but not unpleasant task of making a complete

[1] The writer of this article wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Miss Elizabeth J. Carlyle, of Dumfries, and her sister, Mrs. Mary A. Harland, who have co-operated graciously in this enterprise relating to their distinguished kinsman; to members of many library staffs, especially Mr. J. S. Ritchie and Miss Margaret McArthur Houston of the National Library of Scotland, Mr. C. P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts, The Library, University of Edinburgh, Professor Edward Robertson and Dr. Frank Taylor of The John Rylands Library, Mr. Arthur Wheen, Keeper of the Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, Mrs. Mary G. Brown, County Librarian at Castle-Douglas and Curator of Manuscripts in the Hornel Collection, Broughton House, and Mrs. Strong, The Carlyle House, Chelsea, London; and to those who have worked with him faithfully, conscientiously, and uncomplainingly on the letters assembled at Duke University, Mrs. Virginia H. Sanders, Miss Mary Elizabeth Coffee, Mrs. Mary A. Muller, Miss Dorothy Roberts, and Mr. LeRoy Smith.

file of Carlyle's letters was begun at Duke University three years ago. Previously much valuable work on the letters had been undertaken elsewhere. Important pioneer work in collecting, selecting, and editing the letters was done by J. A. Froude and C. E. Norton soon after Carlyle's death. Carlyle's nephew, Alexander Carlyle, supplemented their work with excellent editions of other letters early in this century. Still other letters have appeared from time to time in magazines and newspapers. Most of these have been listed in I. W. Dyer's excellent *A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana* (Portland, Maine, 1928). D. A. Wilson's six-volume biography of Carlyle, completed in 1934, cites, quotes, or prints whole texts of many other letters. Recently, Lady Bliss has skilfully edited additional letters by Carlyle and his wife to one another. Likewise, Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson in *Necessary Evil*, a life of Jane Welsh Carlyle, have added other letters by the Carlyles to the list. Extremely important work is now being done by Mr. William Park, Keeper of Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland, who is compiling a check list of the letters by both Carlyles. Mr. J. L. Slater of Rutgers University is re-editing the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence. Mr. M. H. Goldberg of the University of Massachusetts is editing the Carlyle-Jeffrey correspondence. Mrs. A. E. Beston is working on the unpublished correspondence between Carlyle and Nancie Jeffrey.

The nerve centre of the Duke University collection is a chronological file in which a card has been placed for each letter of which any trace has been found—whether it has been printed in complete form, quoted, cited, or found in the original unpublished autograph. Each card gives as much information about its letter as possible and lists not merely the date, recipient, and addresses, but also the whereabouts of the autograph if it has been found, works in which it has been printed or mentioned in print, an indication of whether or not it has ever been fully and faithfully printed, and brief notes as to its general merit, with a listing of the most interesting topics upon which it touches.

Complementing this file is the index file, which is an alphabetical list of all those who received letters from Carlyle, with the dates of letters under the name of each recipient.

In addition there is the growing collection of autograph letters themselves on microfilm or in photostats. The policy in collecting these up to now has been that of making a special effort to acquire copies of the scattered letters; that is, all those not in the great collection now preserved in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh. The collection at Edinburgh was in considerable part made by Carlyle himself and handed down by him to Froude, who in turn gave the letters to Carlyle's niece, Mary Aitken (later the wife of his nephew and editor, Alexander Carlyle). The Duke University chronological file and index lists all Carlyle's letters in this collection. Just to the extent that the chronological file can be made complete, will it facilitate the work of scholars in the Victorian field.

Also under way at Duke University is the task of making typescripts of the fugitive letters, both the unpublished ones and those which are only to be found scattered through many miscellaneous books, newspapers, and magazines. These typescripts are arranged by dates so that the letters can be read in the order in which they were written. Typescripts made from printed sources are always carefully collated with copies of the autograph letters when they become available. Typing copies of the letters is of course expensive; but eventually enough money may be found to make possible the ideal of a complete typescript file of Carlyle's letters arranged in chronological order. This could, in turn, lead to a complete published edition.

A special study is also being made of Carlyle's correspondence with his brother Dr. John A. Carlyle. This is a very important correspondence covering many years and involving hundreds of letters. Carlyle had particular respect for this brother and confidence in him. In this instance both sides of the correspondence are being assembled and studied as thoroughly as possible.

Although the work is still in midstream, it has proceeded far enough to provide some significant data. The master file now records 5,687 letters. Of these 4,379 holographs have been found. Unpublished letters total 3,053. Of the 2,634 letters recorded in print, 805 are in Dyer's list of scattered letters, and many of the others have not been printed in complete form.

Some of these have merely been cited or briefly quoted. Undoubtedly many letters have not yet been found. Many unpublished autograph letters still appear on the market each year, and are thus in a state of flux, as an examination of sales records of *American Book-Prices Current* from 1895 to 1950 and Maggs from 1937 to 1951 shows very clearly. One might guess that eventually at least 8,000 autograph letters will be found.

Of the 5,687 letters listed in the Duke University file, 3,340 autographs are in the National Library of Scotland, about three-fourths of the autographs and more than half of the total number of letters found. Twelve of the largest collections of Carlyle's autograph letters are given below:

1. The National Library of Scotland	3,340
2. Victoria and Albert Museum, Forster Collection	139
3. Yale University Library	101
4. The Henry E. Huntington Library	95
5. The New York Public Library	80
6. Crewe House, London	76
7. The Carlyle House, Chelsea	69
8. The Pierpoint Morgan Library	59
9. The University of Edinburgh	53
10. The British Museum	39
11. Carlyle's Birthplace, Ecclefechan	33
12. Hornel Collection, Broughton House, Castle-Douglas, Scotland	28

There are some other fairly large collections such as that of The John Rylands Library, which numbers 25, and The London Library, which has 17. Duke University does not yet possess complete data concerning the holdings of some large libraries and other depositories.

A count of the letters in relation to their recipients shows those to Jane Welsh Carlyle leading with a total of 969 letters. She received, of course, not only the majority but many of the best. The following list gives the names of others who received a large number of letters from Carlyle: Dr. John A. Carlyle (his brother), more than 834; Mrs. Margaret A. Carlyle (his mother, who did not die until 1853), 478; Jean Carlyle Aitken (his sister), 337; Joseph Neuberg (who helped him gather materials for *Frederick the Great*), 258; John Forster, 242; Alexander Carlyle (his brother and the father of Alexander Carlyle, editor of the letters), 117;

Emerson, 106; Mill, 91; the first Lady Ashburton (Harriet Montagu), 84; R. M. Milnes (Lord Houghton), 75; Henry Larkin, 80; John Sterling, 57; Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, 37; and Mrs. Robert Hanning (his sister Janet, who went to Canada), 32.

It is interesting to consider the 5,687 letters in the light of the extent to which they were used by Carlyle's two chief biographers, Froude and Wilson. In his life of Carlyle Froude cites, quotes from, or prints as a whole, approximately 265 letters; Wilson approximately 513. Of course, it should be assumed that both read, assimilated, and in one way or another used many letters for which they do not give a reference. Froude was superior in style and in the imaginative power of his general conception; Wilson was far more thorough in getting all pertinent facts and more careful in dealing with them. Surely, when one strikes a balance between the two, however, one can hardly justify Wilson's many condescending references to Froude.

The greatest difficulty encountered by those who are working on the project is that of finding the single letters or small collections of letters which are in private hands. Yet persistent following of clues and a little advertising from time to time bring in a satisfying trickle of news about scattered letters. And over a newly found stray letter as over the shepherd's lost sheep there is always great rejoicing, for it illumines the others and is illuminated by them. Occasionally, but not often, the holders of letters require full credentials before they grant permission for copying or publishing; one or two have imposed restrictions.

Once the letters have been gathered, the study of them brings various problems and difficulties. Although Carlyle's writing as a rule is not hard to read, problems of legibility do arise at times when he wrote hurriedly, or wrote (as he seldom did) in pencil, or attempted to write in the years between his wife's death in 1866 and 1870, when his niece Mary Aitken, who wrote a lovely round hand, became his amanuensis. In these years his right arm refused to function properly and he wrote very shakily. Some few letters have no dates on them and the envelopes carrying postmarks have been lost; but, as the file grows more

complete, it becomes easier to establish the dates of these letters. Other letters do not carry the names of the recipients but simply begin with " My dear Sir ", or something similar. Here again the context of the letter in the chronological file may provide helpful clues. In one instance, that of the fine letter which Carlyle wrote Leigh Hunt in praise of his *Autobiography*, 17 June, 1850, the question of authenticity has arisen. Three autographs, each assumed to be the original of this letter, have been preserved in separate places ; in addition, two institutions own excellent photographic facsimiles.

The question arises as to when a complete edition of Carlyle's letters should be brought out. It would be expensive, but certainly in the course of time money can be found for such a purpose. With this faith, those at Duke University who are making the typescripts exercise the utmost care to provide texts of absolute integrity for all letters added to the file.

The collection reveals much concerning Carlyle's habits, techniques, and purposes as a letter-writer. Of approximately 6,000 letters now recorded, 64 were written in the period from 13 April 1814 (the date of the first letter preserved) to 1820 ; 513 from 1820 to 1830 ; 691 from 1830 to 1840 ; 1,487 from 1840 to 1850 ; 1,481 from 1850 to 1860 ; and 1,317 from 1860 to his death in 1881. Carlyle did not spare himself, whether he was maintaining the correspondence with his many relatives and friends or answering a letter of query or request from a pure stranger. Sometimes he would go a week or two without writing a letter ; on other days he would write as many as five letters. On 2 March 1842 he wrote five, all dealing with the death of his wife's mother, Mrs. Welsh : two to his own mother ; one to his wife, who was in Liverpool on the way to her mother's bedside when the news came ; one to John Forster ; and one to R. M. Milnes. On 27 August 1843 he wrote from his mother's home in Scotland to his wife, Emerson, John Forster, and the actor Macready.

It would be unlike Carlyle, however, not to grumble about having to write some of the letters, as he grumbled about having to write most of his books. The real greatness of Carlyle probably lay in the amazing richness, depth, force, and integrity

of his picturesque humanity; and humanity always has faults. Carlyle at times seemed vexed at having to write a letter and would write "In haste" apologetically at the end. Often too, he would get hold of a bad pen or bad paper and scold them, perhaps more than once, in the letter. What a blessing a good modern fountain pen would have been to him! He was not as careful as he could have been, even in his early and middle period, about his handwriting. Practically all his *K's* seem to be upper case. His *e's* often close and look like undotted *i's*. His lower-case *r's* also usually look like *i's* without dots. The second *t* of *tt* and the second *l* of *ll* fall away and are about half as high as they should be. The *a's* are often not properly closed at the top. In old age Carlyle often used various symbols to indicate omitted letters, such as c^{d} for *could*.

It is extremely doubtful whether Carlyle usually thought of his letters in terms of a literary art form as he composed them. Many of them are either hastily thrown together or contain unpleasant emotional spasms, wordy passages, or tedious expressions of complaint—about the weather, about the work he was trying to do, about his poor health and inability to sleep, and about the way blockheads seemed to have filled the ranks and assumed control in the world around him. Some of the letters, moreover, particularly in the long period when he was working on *Frederick the Great*, deal with technical details of interest only to those rare, pure minds which delight in the very processes of research—in the location of points on a map showing one of Frederick's battlefields, in the exact time when the battle began, the exact nature of the weather in which it was fought, etc.

Yet many of the letters are, from the first sentence to the last, excellent; and in many others one may read through an inferior passage to find a rich reward in sudden sentences or whole paragraphs of great literary splendour. Brilliance of metaphor and vigour of expression are the rule rather than the exception in Carlyle's correspondence as in his books. Just as consistent as these is his gift of imaginative insight—his quick, sure thrust into the heart of the matter being discussed. Sight also in the physical sense, the seeing power of Carlyle's remarkably observant eyes, together with his equally remarkable skill in describing

what he saw, makes his letters an extremely important record of the changing Victorian scene. And in the long, varied, and picturesque procession that slowly moved forward before Carlyle's eyes, the scenes were not merely seen and described, everything was evaluated, whether it was growing prosperity after the repeal of the Corn Bill, Jenny Lind's farewell concert in London, the funeral cortège of the Duke of Wellington, or the advent of Bismarck. Wrong-headed though some of these evaluations may appear to us, they are always sincere and intellectually stimulating.

It was not like Carlyle, furthermore, despite his lowly origin, to allow himself to be subdued, much less overwhelmed, by high people, momentous events, or difficult ideas. The habit of social and intellectual dominance was one that he acquired long before *The French Revolution* made him famous in 1837. He was a free subject of the Crown and a free citizen of the world of mind, and when he chose, as he often did, he could use words of condescension in speaking of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, The Great Exhibition, Turkey, Margaret Fuller, Macaulay, John Stuart Mill, Disraeli, France, or the North in the American Civil War. In the early days of her reign the Queen was to Carlyle " the poor little Queen ", and the young Prince Consort was " the poor lad ". Disraeli was almost always " Ol' Clo' ", a shortened form of the street cry of the Jewish dealer in old clothes. The slavery question was the " Nigger " question.

Yet in Carlyle, as in F. D. Maurice, the feeling of intellectual mastery was combined paradoxically with a feeling of genuine humility and a strong determination to avoid personal and intellectual pride. Both men walked and talked and formed friendships with people on all social and intellectual levels. Carlyle, with all his glorification of the Hero, was such a democrat as Burns would admire, equally at ease with Lord Ashburton and with the tailor at Dumfries.

This paradox in Carlyle, everywhere exemplified in his letters, which are addressed to people in all ranks of life, reminds one of other paradoxes. One of these was his life-long thunder in praise of silence. He had a genius for selection and brevity which again and again flashes out from his long speeches in

conversation, from his many essays and books, and from hundreds of letters. At his best, he was a master of the swift, bold, telling stroke. His words were often like meteors—heavy, but rushing brilliantly, forcefully, and surely to their mark. Still another paradox, possibly the most significant one to be found in Carlyle, has to do with fire. It may be fairly maintained through masses of evidence coming from his books and letters that the metaphor of fire was the grand central one in his thinking. The imaginative process was to him one by which, as in his *French Revolution*, the mind of the literary artist became a kind of furnace which burned out all impurities and left only the precious yellow metal. Likewise it was simultaneously a warming up, an intensifying, and an illumination of a subject. Carlyle never felt that he was really ready to write until the cauldron had begun to boil. But the tragic irony of his life was that he detested heat in the weather or in other forms, and was fully as susceptible to it as to noise. Hence his many flights northward to Scotland during summers to escape the "Nebuchadnezzar's Furnace" of London. And when the cauldron did boil while Carlyle was writing his works, it boiled, as his letters tell us, not merely in his mind but in the wretched man's stomach.

Quite obviously, future biographers of Carlyle will find a reasonably complete chronological file of his letters very helpful. Without such a file their task is replete with awkwardness and difficulties. For instance, the Duke University file now has twenty letters which Carlyle wrote from Ireland during his tour there in July and August 1849. The table below shows the dates of the letters and the extent to which they have been scattered.

4 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. Unpublished.
6 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. (Printed in Trudy Bliss's *Letters to His Wife.*)
8 July.	ALS. Huntington Library. Unpublished.
11 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. Printed in incomplete form in the *New Letters*, ed. Alexander Carlyle, vol. ii.
12 July.	ALS. Huntington Library. Unpublished.
13 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. Unpublished.
17 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. Printed by Bliss.
17 July.	(to another correspondent.) ALS. Pierpoint Morgan Library. Unpublished.
18 July.	ALS. National Library of Scotland. Printed by Bliss.

21 July. ALS. National Library of Scotland. Unpublished.
24 July. ALS. National Library of Scotland. Unpublished.
26 July. ALS. Huntington Library. Unpublished.
27 July. Cited by Dyer and quoted by Froude. Autograph not found.
28 July. ALS. National Library of Scotland. Printed in incomplete form in *New Letters*, ed. Alexander Carlyle.
29 July. Printed in incomplete form in *New Letters*, ed. Alexander Carlyle. Autograph not found.
2 August. ALS. Yale University Library. Unpublished.
5 August. Cited by D. A. Wilson in his biography, IV. Autograph not found.
5 August. (to another correspondent.) ALS. Huntington Library. Unpublished.
6 August. ALS. Pierpoint Morgan Library. Unpublished.
6 August. ALS. National Library of Scotland. Unpublished.

Once the letters have been found, copied, and put in order, they become autobiography, not written years later, but at the time of the experiences. They yield information about places, dates, topics of conversation, antipathies for certain people, the cultivation of friendships (a particular gift with Carlyle which explains much in his career), modes of relaxation, the espousal of causes, the engaging in controversies, the ways in which Carlyle worked (not merely his habits of composition but his methods in selecting a subject and the degree of thoroughness with which he did his research), the effort to cope with problems in his private life, and the mistakes, failures, and triumphs of his life. They are the very stuff of biography from the pen of an unusually truthful, honest, and trustworthy biographer. His letters describing Coleridge at Highgate in 1824 agree perfectly with details in the splendid portrait of Coleridge which he composed for his *Life of Sterling* in 1851. He had an unusual memory which rarely tricked him even after many years, and he refused to practice deception, even in dealing with himself, when recording in his letters the observations and impressions of each day.

Carlyle's letters reveal accurately, therefore, not only himself but the events of the time. The appearance of Halley's Comet in 1835, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the rise and fall of Prime Ministers, the passing of the great reform bills, the steps taken to improve the lot of women and the working man, the coming of railroads and of penny postage, the growth of Empire, the discoveries of scientists, controversies in religion, progress

toward the education of the masses—the letters teem with such matters, always accompanied by penetrating, intelligent and often picturesque comment.

At times they are much more than a record of the times provided with a running commentary. Carlyle was not content to be a mere observer of what was happening—a sort of Greek chorus who observed the action and philosophized about it. He had strong practical instincts which are reflected in his books and are confirmed by Emerson's remarks upon his very appearance. When we speak of the remarkable influence which Carlyle exerted we should bear in mind, without discrediting at all the power of his books, that his letters and conversation were practical instruments by which he sought, often with success, to impinge upon the minds and control the behaviour of people in clearly defined terms. The whole series of letters relating to the founding of the London Library in 1840 illustrate the point. Here he was completely successful, and we still rejoice at his success. He was less successful in his efforts to get Margaret Fuller and Emerson to bring *The Dial* out of the clouds and down to earth (see the excellent letter to Emerson of 19 August 1842). He was less successful too, quite fortunately, in his advising the poets of the age to give up verse and write prose. Carlyle was too forthright to be completely successful politically and too individual to create disciples in his own image. But he did, partly through his letters, shock the aristocrats and the middle class out of their smugness and moral indifference; and at his best he did for some individuals what was much better than shaping them to be like himself: he taught them how to find and how to be themselves.

Logan Pearsall Smith and others have called Carlyle the Victorian Rembrandt. Certainly, no instinct in him was stronger than that which led him to observe with burning interest and intensified powers of observation men and women in the world around him. No talent in him was more marked than that through which he skilfully delineated their features. Whatever value the world may attach to his moral and political ideas (just now his reputation as a philosopher is clearly at ebb-tide), the portraits which he drew of his contemporaries will always be too

important and too fascinating to be ignored by students of the period.

Some of Carlyle's pen-portraits are to be found in such works as *The Life of Sterling* and the *Reminiscences*. Most of them, however, and many of the best ones are miniatures embedded in the letters, many of which have been published only in part or not at all. Hence it is that we shall never be able to study and enjoy Carlyle's work as " the Victorian Rembrandt " in its entire range, variety, and richness until we can see all the portraits in relationship to one another and to the times against the context of the collected and ordered correspondence.

A particular reason why Carlyle's portraits yield most when studied in relation to the letters is that his method was that of a painter who required his subjects to sit a considerable number of times. Carlyle's portraits grow, develop, are touched up, gather depth of shadow and richness of colouring, find their true proportions and emphasis, and at times undergo organic change and readjustment of line as the artist finds opportunity to observe his subject from time to time and sends off letter after letter. Those who wish evidence for this assertion may study his treatment of Samuel Rogers, Macaulay, and Thackeray in the letters that have been published.

Despite Carlyle's scoffing at " artists " and " dilettantism " (a word to him synonymous with all aesthetic studies). he was himself greatest when he was most the artist. And he was undoubtedly an artist—a conscious artist—when he worked on the portraits. Whether studying history or observing his contemporaries, his first object always was to get an actual likeness, of undisputable authenticity, of the persons to be considered. He praised Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, for first collecting the best painted portraits of important Englishmen and later drawing brilliant portraits with his pen. In the early 1850s he showed himself strongly in favour of establishing National Portrait Galleries for Scotland and England, for which the pictures would be carefully selected and in which only the most trustworthy portraits would be found. When he wrote history, whether it dealt with the French Revolution, Cromwell, or Frederick II, he first searched for authentic likenesses of all

important characters in the story and placed these on or near his desk where he could see them as he wrote. He grieved that there was nowhere what he could believe in as a true portrait of Christ; even the works of the great Italian masters were to him idealizations, glorifications, luminous pieces of ecclesiastical symbolism, and romantic imaginings which were to him a poor substitute for a real likeness.

On the other hand, Carlyle knew that a merely photographic likeness could never be an adequate portrait. It had to begin, of course, with the physically real or it would be completely false. But having once grasped this reality clearly and firmly, it proceeded to discover and reveal the inner and essential reality of which the physical details merely provided the outward tokens. Such a method, making much of swift evaluations, rigorous exclusion of unessentials, and a form which was compact, picturesque and bright, Carlyle believed that he had inherited from his father. One of his father's most notable gifts, he said, was that of throwing off " little sketches of Annandale biography . . . clearest brief portraiture and life-history of all the noteworthy, vanished figures whom I had known by look only, and now wished to understand . . . so admirably brief, luminous, true, and man-like ". The word *man-like* here is not used loosely. Carlyle uses the word *man* as Hamlet does in praising his father. Carlyle says that his father gave him a set of " human delineations of human life ". Thus the chief purpose of the portrait artist is to find the precious and indefinable humanity in his subject, to distil it and draw it out, through methods permitted by a rigorous economy, until it hangs like a rare, rich, and exquisite perfume over and around the portrait. Here lies the charm of Rembrandt's work, and of Carlyle's when he is most successful.

Carlyle's metaphors are merely one of the most striking means which he employs to this end, but they are often like brilliant jewels flashing out from the portraits, and they do much to render the portraits unforgettable. Bronson Alcott, with his vegetarianism, is a " Potato Quixote "; Jeremy Bentham is a " rhinoceros —strong and clumsy "; Coleridge is a " seventy-four-gun ship, but waterlogged, dismasted, cannot set a thread of sail! ";

Thomas Erskine of Linlathen was like a " draught of sweet rustic *mead* served in cut glasses and silver tray " ; Margaret Fuller's books suggest a " *spiritual Aurora Borealis* " ; she does not use words but rather expresses herself through " *symbolical* tunes on the bagpipe " ; hers is a " predetermination to *eat* this big Universe as her oyster or her egg " ; Leigh Hunt is a " talking nightingale " ; Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, is not pleasing as she " hops the twig " in her farewell concert ; R. M. Milnes " is really a pretty little robin-redbreast of a man " ; Samuel Rogers has a " toothless horse-shoe mouth drawn up to the very nose " ; and Southey, whose " grand bodily [characteristic] is leanness and long legs ", is when he rises " like a lean pair of tongs ".

The letters contain hundreds of metaphors such as these, both in the portraits and in other contexts. Perhaps they are the sugar-plums set in them to reward those naively confident and venturesome souls who undertake such a difficult and complex task as collecting and ordering Carlyle's letters.

The correspondence with John Forster lends itself admirably to our purpose when we attempt to select one unified group of letters with which to illustrate Carlyle's various characteristics. All except a very few of these letters in the National Library of Scotland are today preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. They have been accessible to scholars, in accordance with the terms of Forster's will, ever since his death in 1876. They contain, counting the letters at Edinburgh, 242 letters from Carlyle and, unfortunately, only four from Forster. Although so few of Forster's letters to Carlyle have been found, Carlyle's letters reflect the other side of the correspondence with comparatively little obscurity.

Although this correspondence has been easily accessible for a long time, it has never been as such thoroughly studied. Froude ignored it when he wrote Carlyle's life. Alexander Carlyle printed a few letters from it in *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle* (1904). D. A. Wilson examined it carefully and drew illustrative materials, chiefly extracts, from it. Others who have found it valuable as a source of materials include Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson in their *Necessary Evil : The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle*

(1952), Edgar Johnson in his *Charles Dickens: His Tragedy and Triumph* (1952), and R. H. Super in his *Walter Savage Landor: A Biography* (1954).

The nearest approach to an examination and analysis of this correspondence for the sake of itself was that made by Francis Espinasse when he was preparing to write his extremely valuable and readable *Literary Recollections and Sketches* (1893). Delighted with the riches which he thus discovered, he wrote:

> A very interesting memorial of their [Carlyle and Forster's] friendship lies all but unknown, and, so far as I am aware, thoroughly inspected by no one save myself, in the manuscript and other matter relating to Carlyle bequeathed, with a great many other valuable things, a fine library among them, by John Forster to the South Kensington Museum. The Carlyliana of the collection include a long series of letters written to Forster by Carlyle, covering a period of some forty years, from the beginning of their acquaintance to the end, only with Forster's death, of what became their friendship. With the exception of his letters to his own family there are none so interesting as these of Carlyle to Forster, and a well-edited selection from them would be an extremely valuable contribution to Carlyle's biography. . . . As relatives and old friends sank one after another into the grave Carlyle clung more and more to Forster, his ally of forty years, who remained indefatigable in his attentions. . . . Those later letters of his to Forster abound in records of his varying moods, some of them mournful enough, but they are seldom marked by the bitterness which disfigures his Journal and still more his *Reminiscences*, and there is often a beautiful pathos in his wail not merely over himself, but over friends departing and departed, especially Dickens.

Espinasse, himself one of Carlyle's younger disciples, was a skilful reporter whose opinions on the subject were valuable.

The correspondence begins with Carlyle's letter dated 17 January 1839 and ends with his letter of 6 December 1875. About forty of the letters are brief notes without dates, often merely accepting or declining invitations to dinner or to the theatre. Most of the letters are written from Carlyle's home in Chelsea to one of Forster's homes, 58 Lincoln's Inn Fields, 46 Montagu Square, or Palace-Gate House. One may reflect with some misgivings concerning the efficacy of science to promote literature that if London had then had telephones most of Carlyle's letters to Forster would not have been written.

What was there about Forster in 1839 and 1840 that drew Carlyle to him and provided a foundation for the friendship? Forster was about seventeen years younger: he had been born

at Newcastle on 2 April 1812. He had been well educated, particularly in law, largely through the generosity of an uncle. His lifelong interest in the theatre, to which Carlyle was in the main indifferent, began in early childhood. He had also determined at an early age to cultivate the love of literature. Legend said that for a time he had even been engaged to the famous poetess Letitia Elizabeth Landon. He had been for a time chief critic for the *Examiner* under Fonblanque. And, very important in his relation to Carlyle later, he had almost finished his *Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth*. The last two volumes, dealing with Cromwell, were published in 1839. He had also demonstrated a remarkable talent for friendship—with Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb (whom Carlyle had met and detested), Dickens, and the relatively unknown Browning. He had been one of the first to recognize the merits of Browning's poetry.

What sort of man was he? Carlyle was repelled at first by what he called his rough, noisy ways and found in him a certain laxity of mind. Of course, Carlyle himself had a somewhat rough exterior and could easily become noisy. In the initial stage of the friendship the men were like two large male lions from time to time roaring at one another and then retreating. Forster's manner, moreover, was decisive, and his countenance stern and authoritative. His delight in the theatre had led him sometimes into dramatic posing in his private activities, it was said in imitation of his friend W. C. Macready; and Lady Bulwer found it easy to make him appear ridiculous as the character "Fuzboz" (the source of Carlyle's nickname for him, "Fuz") in her novel *Cheveley*. On the other hand, Forster was as firm, stable, and substantial as Gibraltar, and underneath his rough exterior were to be found unusual sympathy, tenderness, gentleness, and generosity. The practical side of his mind was highly developed. He knew the world and its ways. He had a good head for business, and his knowledge of law served him well in attending to it. All in all, he was a good fellow, warm-natured and human, who delighted in doing favours for his friends and whose noisy presence could become a comfort.

Three things brought the two men together. One was their common interest in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century

and in Cromwell. Another was the great interest which Forster took in attending Carlyle's lectures of 1839 and 1840 and reporting on them favourably. Third, and perhaps most important, was their work together in founding the London Library in 1840.

Carlyle's letter of 17 January 1839 mentions both the Prospectus for the library and Forster's *Cromwell*. It lists among others the names of Samuel Rogers, Henry Hallam, Sir James Clarke, and Sir Henry Inglis as supporting the plan. " If we can withal engage you and your resources in our behalf! what might not a right manifesto of your promulgating do." And he adds in another paragraph: " I have just finished your *Cromwell*, and am in zealous search of the foregoing *Lives*." Forster then characteristically gave him the whole set of his *Lives of the Statesmen* and fell in vigorously with the movement to establish the library. When Carlyle was at work on his own *Cromwell* (1845) Forster graciously supplied him with books and other materials. He even yielded on an important question of opinion. After he had maintained in his book that Cromwell was too dictatorial in closing Parliament, he came round to Carlyle's opinion that Cromwell was on all points justified. On his side Carlyle had high praise for Forster's *Strafford* as well as his *Cromwell* at a time when John Sterling and Browning also found *Strafford* a fascinating subject.

Once the friendship was firmly established, it flourished henceforth on a basis of mutual helpfulness and respect, a hale and hearty love of life and literature, and the frank exchange of complaints, advice, compliments, and honest criticism. The letters reflect a manly relationship, with some good-natured jostling of one another. They plan dinners together with their favourite meat, pork chops, " May it please the pigs! " They also plan horseback rides and are bitterly disappointed when one fails to come off. Carlyle rejoices when Forster is happily married and henceforth makes a great ado over Mrs. Forster. He praises Forster's work as editor of the *Examiner* (1847-56), although he never considered him quite as good an editor as Rintoul of the *Spectator*. He showed an active interest in Forster's work as Lunacy Commissioner (1855-61) and in

Forster's books, his *Goldsmith* (1848, enlarged 1854), *Walter Savage Landor* (1869), and *Charles Dickens* (1872, 1873). Forster, on his side, followed the publication of Carlyle's books with enthusiastic approval. He gave him all the help possible while they were being written and the best kind of frank, friendly criticism after they appeared in print. With Mrs. Carlyle, too, Forster was a great favourite. When she died in 1866, while Carlyle was in Scotland, it was Forster who took control of affairs and prevented the coroner's inquest which he knew would cause Carlyle too much pain. Carlyle leaned on Forster's advice heavily in June 1867 when he drew up the bequest giving Craigenputtoch to the University of Edinburgh.

The causes for which they fought together, usually winning, did much to increase the strength of their friendship. Not merely that of founding the London Library, but the fight for a new Copyright Bill to lengthen the period in which an author could enjoy all rights relating to his books, the collection of a fund for the relief of Burns's sister, the Widow Begg, the defeat of Gladstone's effort in 1852 to place a man on the staff of the London Library whom the two considered poorly qualified, and the effort to raise money for Miss Lowe, Dr. Samuel Johnson's god-daughter, and for her sister.

Carlyle's letters to Forster express his opinions with characteristic force and intensity. In the early 1840's he denounces George Sand and her school of literature.

> The French literature of G. Sand and Co., which many people told me was a new-birth, I found to be a detestable putrefaction—new life of nothing but maggots and blue-bottles.

Just as detestable to him was the Irish leader Daniel O'Connell, " the big blustering blarneying *Demagogos* of an O' ". Carlyle's distrust of democracy is expressed many times throughout the letters. He leaves no doubt about his low opinion of Macaulay's *History of England* as it began to appear in the late 1840s :

> I did not hope *very* much of Macaulay's History ; and even under these terms I was disappointed. Flat, flat, without a ray of *genius* from beginning to end ; all dead, as the Gospel of Holland House ; and as for story, Lord bless your honour, there *is* no story, and the Devil himself couldn't make one. Stuart Kings and their fetid *canaille*, what story is in them, or ever can be? Oblivion,

zero, and eternal Silence, that is *their* story,—appointed for them from the foundations of the world. Let Macaulay sell his twenty editions, therefore; for that is all he will ever get by the job.

He was equally vehement in his disapproval of *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849) by his future disciple and biographer J. A. Froude:

Froude's Book is not, except for wretched people in white neckcloths . . . worth its paper and ink. What on Earth is the use of a wretched mortal's vomiting up all his interior crudities, dubitations, and spiritual agonizing belly-aches, into the view of the Public, and howling tragically, "See," . . . Epictetus's sheep, *intending* at least to grow good wool, was a gentleman in comparison.

In a much later letter, 26 October 1874, he was fully as severe in criticizing J. S. Mill's views on religion:

John Mill's Book on what he calls Religion is come, but I have already seen what you saw in the Newspaper and it has completely satisfied me that probably never since the world began was there heard any feebler or more futile gasp of utterance on that subject, comparable to the last *mew* of a drowning kitten; worthy of being forgotten by all creatures. Poor M's notion of a proper God Almighty would be that of an indulgent Nurse, male or female, giving his children perpetual lollipops by way of building them up to heroic action in this world of his.

But Carlyle could praise as well as denounce. For instance, in the late 1840's he had come to have great admiration for Sir Robert Peel and faith in his political leadership. When, in July 1850, news came that Peel had died after being thrown from his horse, Carlyle was very much shocked and expressed his feelings in a letter to Forster:

Poor Sir Robert,—alas, alas. No public event, for many years, or ever in my life, has seemed to me more tragical. I will not quarrel with you now for defending even Russell: God only knows what course things now will take, if there be not below decks wisdom of which one sees no symptoms above.

Emerson, too, he loved and could approve, with important reservations. The friendship with Emerson Carlyle shared with Forster, Sterling, Milnes, and other British friends. When Carlyle visited Stonehenge with Emerson in July 1848, he duly kept Forster and others informed. Emerson published his account of the experience in *English Traits*.

In at least one important instance, Carlyle's letters to Forster show how his long-established, stubborn opinions could be conquered. His taste in music had confined itself almost

entirely to the simple Scotch tunes which he had sung as a boy and which Mrs. Carlyle sometimes played for him on the piano. When Chopin was in England in the summer and autumn of 1848 and Mrs. Carlyle and others were enthusiastically promoting a concert which he was to give, Carlyle reluctantly and with some misgivings yielded to their request that he seek Forster's support for the enterprise and wrote:

> I myself know nothing of the famed M. Chopin; but here is a criticism upon some performance of his, and two very excellent friends of mine (much interested in Chopin, whom they consider a man of great modesty and moral worth as well as talent) are very anxious to see it in some Newspaper, next Sunday,—in the Examiner, before all other Newspapers. I have undertaken to introduce it to you; —and for the rest, only that you will decide *honestly*, Yes or No, as your real judgment on the case is.
>
> The writer of it I am also (under seal of secrecy) permitted, on my suggestion, to name to you: the Reverend A. Scott; a very superior man, and very well known to me this long while.

Soon after, however, he saw Chopin, heard him play, and learned something of his story. He dispatched another note to Forster:

> This is to go along with the continuation of the Critique on M. Chopin, by the same hand, brought to me by the same parties. Pray insert it. I myself have since seen Chopin; and can testify that he is really a wonderful Musician, and what is far better, a truly delicate, interesting and excellent looking character. Sensitive, alas, tremulous as aspen-leaves, and evidently familiar enough with suffering,—poor Chopin.

When Carlyle was at Amesbury, with Emerson on 7 July 1848, just after visiting Stonehenge, he wrote to inquire of his wife: "I wonder how your Chopin prospered; how your concert tickets etc.!" The fact that his surrender to Chopin was complete is confirmed by a letter to the Reverend Alexander Scott, 5 August 1848:

> If you see M. Chopin, pray offer him my hearty regards. I hope we shall get some language to speak in by and by, and then get into more plentiful communication: an excellent, gentle, much-suffering human soul, as I can at once see without language.

In the late summer and early autumn Chopin gave concerts at Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. Jane Carlyle wrote in glowing terms about him to her old friend Jane Stirling of

Edinburgh, who with the help of her friends saw that the composer was royally entertained. But Chopin was ill and depressed nearly all the time that he was in Great Britain. In January 1849 he fled back to France, and in October he died. The Carlyles and their friend Forster could at least have the satisfaction of knowing that they had been kind to him when he was in their country.

Scattered through Carlyle's letters to Forster are many such glimpses of well-known contemporaries, with interesting comments upon them. The names of Froude, Mill, C. G. Duffy, Browning, Tennyson, Macaulay, Emerson, Landor, Milnes, Fitzgerald, and Dickens, who were friends of both men, appear many times.

The most interesting passage concerning Browning is that written 17 August 1861, after news had come that Mrs. Browning was dead :

> I return Browning's Letter; which we have read, naturally, with great interest. The poor Lady seems to have passed away in a state of perfect peace, unconscious altogether of what was coming; the mildest end that could have been provided to a gentle Human Life. Which is a great consolation to survivors in their sorrow.—I know not whether Browning has yet come to you; I partly expected or hoped to see him here; but had no right either,—not having written, tho' I did not want for matter, or even for intention, but only for a few minutes of composure; which you know are seldom if ever mine, in these sad months and years. Tell him from me to gird himself together out of these [two words uncertain] of the Past (as indeed I see he is manfully doing);—and that I expect a *new epoch* for *him*, in regard to his own work in this world, now that he is coming back to England at last; and that, in my poor opinion, which I have never changed, a noble victory lies ahead for him, if he stand to it while time yet is. This is my fixed thought; and often my greatest sorrow over the "woes of Italy" has been that a soul like R. B.'s was kept weltering, in a *hobbled* condition, amid such a mass of thrums and hopeless cobwebs. Assure him of my deep sympathy and true regard, at any rate.

Carlyle's relation to Landor was complex. Each man could find something to admire in the other, but Landor found less than Carlyle did. Despite Carlyle's pleasant visit to Landor at Bath in July 1850, and Landor's later gift to Carlyle of a portrait of David Hume by Allan Ramsay, Carlyle never quite succeeded in breaking down the old man's reservations. Landor is reported to have said from time to time that Carlyle's *French Revolution* was a wicked book and that he had worn out one volume tossing

it on the floor at startling passages; that Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* convinced him that he wrote two dead languages—Latin and English; that Carlyle was "a vile writer, worse than Bulwer"; and that Carlyle could make a few ideas go farther than any man he had ever known. Carlyle, on his side, was critical of this "honorable, angry-tempered old literary gentleman", particularly of his laugh—"a dry sharp laugh not of sport but of mockery", and yet he was in the main generous to the "proud and high old man". The following passage from his letter of 5 April [1856] to Forster, Landor's future biographer, may fairly represent him here:

Pray put into *The Examiner*, if you have not done so this week, a Sentence of Landor's about our thrice-detestable English word "pluck" (pah! viler word was never coined by dogs). Landor's utterance is in the last *Fraser;* and did my heart good. See the first of those two "Imaginary Conversations"; which really is as good as anything I ever saw from Landor. Do you think the grand old Pagan wrote that Piece just now? The sound of it is like the ring of Roman swords on the helmets of Barbarians. An unsubduable old Roman! Also make my loyal respects to him the first time you write.

Carlyle's references to Tennyson are much fuller in some of his other letters than in those to Forster. His famous descriptions of Tennyson the tobacco-smoker have been quoted many times. A particularly interesting series of letters is that describing Tennyson and his bride on their honeymoon, October 1850, when Carlyle encountered them at Monk Coniston, Ambleside. But the passages on Tennyson yielded by the letters to Forster are not altogether without value and interest:

[21 March 1849]

Alfred, I think, has left his umbrella here; tell the oblivious Son of Apollo that comfortable truth.

1 June (?) [1855]

If Alfred do come to you, remind him that there is an old inhabitant living here, whom he ought not to have been so long without seeing.

2 January 1856

[From The Grange, one of the Ashburtons' country houses]: The agreeablest phenomenon at present is Alfred Tennyson, who came two days ago and is still to hold out a little while. He has a big mustache carefully cultivated, and with his new wide-awake looks flourishing. Good company to smoke with in the Conservatory of the place,—tho' he often loses his pipe:—more power to him.

17 September 1875

[From Keston Lodge, Beckenham, after the publication of Tennyson's play *Queen Mary*] : Alfred Tennyson's, so-called, Shakespearian Tragedy I had read before leaving home. With little *disappointment*, but with a dismal inclination to exclaim, Scene after scene, " Did you ever ? "

Particularly full and significant in this correspondence, as one might expect, are Carlyle's comments on Dickens and on Forster's biography of the great novelist. Carlyle's delight in Dickens, the author and the man, though never uncritical, was almost as great as Forster's. It may be remembered that Dickens dedicated *Hard Times* (1854) to Carlyle and that *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) owed much to Carlyle's *French Revolution* and to materials which Carlyle sent to his friend. The following excerpts from Carlyle's letters to Forster give the story of Carlyle's relation to Dickens in its essentials :

[c. June, 1842]

I am very glad of Dickens's word : a happy voyage home [from America], to one of the cheeriest truest-hearted we have under the Sun at present.

15 July 1842

Dickens is come home, I observe. Congratulate him from me, and say I got his Circular, and will attend to it.

[c. May, 1843]

The last *Chuzzlewit* on Yankeedoodledodom is capital. We read it here with loud assent, loud cachinnatory approval ! You may tell Dickens if you like.

6 June 1844

I truly love Dickens ; and discern in the inner man of him a tone of real Music, which struggles to express itself as it may, in these bewildered stupefied and indeed very empty and distracted days,—better or worse ! This, which makes him in my estimation one of a thousand, I could with great joy and freedom testify to all persons, to himself first of all, in any good way.

12 December 1846

Dombey we have ; and almost nothing other in that department.—An Archdeacon, with his own venerable lips, repeated to me, the other night, a strange profane story : of a solemn Clergyman who had been administering ghostly consolation to a sick person (several years ago) ; having finished, satisfactorily as he thought, and got out of the room, he heard the sick person ejaculate : " Well, thank God, *Pickwick* will be out in ten days any way ! "

[1848]

I will certainly come on Tuesday. . . . Why not get Dickens too ? Emerson wishes much to see him ; and I also, much oftener than falls to my lot.

17 April 1851

Poor Dickens and Mrs. Dickens! I am heartily sorry for them.

26 October 1859

When you go to Dickens, our best regards. Tale of Two Cities is wonderful!

[2 March 1868]

I think wholly with Dickens, both as to Nigger America, & President Johnson, magnanimous Taylor & Breeches Maker.

[c. 11 June 1870]

I am profoundly sorry for *you*, and indeed for myself and for us all. It is an event world-wide; a *unique* of Talents suddenly extinct; and has "eclipsed" (we too may say) [as Johnson had said when Garrick died]) "the harmless gaiety of Nations." No death since 1866 has fallen on me with such a stroke; no Literary Man's hitherto ever did. The good, the gentle, ever friendly noble Dickens,—every inch of him an Honest Man!

I had thought to attend the Funeral (this one Funeral of its kind); but now I suppose it will be impossible for me in my present feeble condition.—God be with you all, you at Gad's Hill in these sad hours.

22 July 1870

That "Dickens sale" made even the Newspapers beautiful to me and was surely a most successful and well-managed thing. May the second at Gads Hill be equally so,—for the sake of those poor bereaved ones whom it will benefit, tho' to Him it is of no account thro' all Eternity now. How strange, how sad, and full of mystery and solemnity, to think of our bright high-gifted, ever-friendly Dickens, lying there in his silent final rest!

26 August 1870

I have heard nothing from you; and various things . . . have come and gone on which I am all in the dark. The sale and settlements at Gads Hill, for example,—this enormous War, filling all the Newspapers to overflow, has cut me off from any details about that; about which you were so interested, and I withal. Poor loved Dickens, how sad and strange to think that we shall never see his blithe face more. One other No. of that *Edwin Drood*, and then no more, no more forever! The figure of him, with a strange impressiveness in it, often visits me, among the Shadows of my other Loved Ones who are gone. All vanished, gone;—yet, of a surety, all with God, even as we are.

23 October 1870

[Forster to Carlyle:] I am at intervals turning to the inexpressibly sorrowful task . . . over poor Dickens's letters. Whether anything will come of it I do not know. Will speak later of it.

22 November 1872

Like all mankind, I have been reading your Life of Dickens, which came to me correctly, according to programme, and has gone finally to Dumfries some days ago. It is a work of wonderful diligence, friendliness and clearness of

detail ; gives us as it were, a complete Photograph of Dickens's existence, literary and other ; everything is said too with perfect neatness graceful precision and propriety : some complain that there is an *over*-minuteness of detail ; but Norton said well of it in my hearing, "That probably you wished to leave nothing for the greediest cormorant of a Hotten [?] or other volunteer Biographer to pick up after you had done." Perhaps in the third Vol. you will gather yourself more into epochs, and direct your chief force of detail in making visual the *last* American voyage, which has to me always so tragical a character ; and stands in such strange and mournful contrast to the First, and to its own external splendour of colouring, Ah me, Ah me!

16 February 1874

I am happy to say, as I can with perfect sincerity, that I have read your third volume of *Dickens* with continued interest and pleasure—and with a glad surprise, moreover, which heightens all these feelings. Surprise I say, for the narrative flows with limpid clearness, soft harmony, perfection of phrase and idea ; not a trace in it anywhere of the horrid state of pain in which I too well know you to have been all the while.

This Third Volume throws a new light and character to me over the Work at large. I incline to consider this Biography as taking rank, in essential respects, parallel to Boswell himself, though on widely different grounds. Boswell, by those genial abridgments and vivid face to face pictures of Johnson's thoughts, conversational ways and modes of appearance among his fellow-creatures, has given, as you often hear me say, such a delineation of a man's existence as was never given by another man. By quite different resources, by those sparkling, clear and sunny utterances of Dickens's own (bits of *auto*-biography unrivalled in clearness and credibility) which were at your disposal and have been intercalated every now and then, you have given to every intelligent eye the power of looking down to the very bottom of Dickens's mode of existing in this world ; and I say have performed a feat which, except in Boswell, the unique, I know not where to parallel. So long as Dickens is interesting to his fellow-men, here will be seen, face to face, what Dickens's manner of existing was ; his steady practicality, withal ; the singularly solid business talent he continually had ; and deeper than all, if one had the eye to see deep enough, dark, fateful silent elements, tragical to look upon, and hiding amid dazzling radiances as of the sun, the elements of death itself. Those two American Journies especially transcend in tragic interest to a thinking reader most things one has seen in writing.

On the whole, therefore, I declare you to have done right well, my Friend ; and my first and last work about the Book is, *Euge, euge.*

3 July 1874

I was greatly vexed to have missed you on Tuesday ; I intended fully both that day and the day before to have been at your house myself, but both days was driven aside by interruptions, and here was the last chance missed, and not to return for at least a week. I had to thank you for that fine Gift of the Dickens in noble green morocco (a most munificent and ornamental superfluity) ; and still more especially I wanted to ascertain a little for myself how you really were and what your prospects in the improving weather. Pray send me word in regard to this.

Forster died on 1 February 1876, five years before Carlyle's own death. Carlyle's commentary on Dickens becomes richly human and impressive indeed when we add to the foregoing excerpts numerous relevant passages from Carlyle's other letters and books. The charm of ripe friendship, reflected in some of the passages above, with its suggestion of an intimacy which was mellow and beautiful, is cast like a golden light over some of the other letters belonging to the old age of the two friends. It appears as a peculiar illumination in Carlyle's letters of 1866 written soon after his wife's death; the letter of 22 July 1870 written from Craigenputtoch and describing his feelings as he revisited the place, now a holy one for him, which he and Jane had left in 1834; and the letter which he wrote on his seventy-sixth birthday.

The wise and discerning Emerson wrote to Carlyle on 30 October 1840:

> I shall be glad if you will draw Cromwell, though if I should choose it would be Carlyle. You will not feel that you have done your work until those devouring eyes and that portraying hand have achieved England in the Nineteenth Century.

It was partly in response to this suggestion that Carlyle soon after wrote *Past and Present*, one of his books most alive today. His *Life of Sterling* and *Reminiscences* add much to the picture. But Carlyle's magnificent portrait of the nineteenth century extended itself far beyond the limits of these books and some day, when all his letters have been brought together and made accessible, we shall be able to examine it in all its fullness, depth and scope.

A SHORT STUDY OF AENEID, BOOK III [1]

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THE Third Book of the *Aeneid* is not much read compared with the other books in the first half of Virgil's epic. It has not the excitement and intensity of the Sack of Troy, or the poignancy of Dido's love and despair, or the grandeur and solemnity of the Descent to Avernus. It has not the varied interest of danger and novel experiences which make Book I such good reading: nor has it the air of mild festivity and recreation which invest even the games of Book V with an attraction which, if not thrilling, is at any rate not disagreeable. The subject of Book III is, *Aeneas Ilium in Italiam portans*, Aeneas' long voyage from Troy towards Italy: and nothing can be so dull as the record of a long voyage. It is true that Virgil appears to do his best to diversify and enliven it by adding a selection of incidents from the many traditional episodes which had become part of the Aeneas legend: and to a certain extent he also invents material which will provide relief from monotony. These are the parts of the Book which are best known; they appear in all the anthologies; they make good pieces for occasional reading; but they are usually studied (legitimately enough, but I think regrettably) away from their context and without relation to the Book as a whole or to the place of the Book in the sequence of events. It is felt, too, in Book III that the person and character of Aeneas, the hero of the poem, are dimly portrayed. Aeneas is the leader of the Trojan expedition: but he carries with him in the ship his father Anchises, whom on all occasions of moment he consults with more than the dutiful piety of a devoted son—so that he acts indeed as the captain of the ship, responsible for its navigation, but having an admiral on board whose views he must take in all matters concerning the general conduct of policy: and

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 12th of January 1955.

this dual responsibility, though admirable in its Roman portrayal of the relations between a good son and his father, is hampering to the progress of the story and is significantly discarded by Virgil at the end of the Book. After the death of Anchises in Sicily, Aeneas is sole commander of the Trojans, and he grows in heroic stature as a result. One cannot, therefore, escape the first impression that Book III, considered as a unit of the epic, somehow lacks the artistic quality of completeness which is so characteristic of Virgil's workmanship in the other Books. The poet at times, and notably in the unusually long speech of Helenus, has not achieved the compression and finish which we expect of him. We feel that some parts of the structure need more attention, and that other parts have bits of scaffolding still attached to them.

Much of this may be granted, and yet it may be argued that the Book is not so ineffective as might seem at first sight. Virgil had decided that an account of the Trojans' voyage from Asia Minor to Italy was a necessary element in his plan. He had good Homeric precedent for so deciding; and even without such precedent the story of the voyage, as I shall hope to show, was an essential link in the arrangement of his design for the first four books. The voyage itself, with its geographical details of the Aegean, the Adriatic, Sicily, and Italy, was likely to be of far more familiar interest to his contemporary Mediterranean readers than it is to Atlantic outlanders like ourselves; and since the scene was laid in the mythical heroic age and since he fully availed himself of a poet's licence to modify mythical history and invent anachronistic details, he could plausibly introduce marvels and persons and places which could not have been combined in any strictly historical or semi-historical narrative. Besides, it cannot be expected that in a long epic the emotional tone must always be pitched high. Book I, where it tells of Aeneas' welcome in Carthage, leaves me with a sense of anxious expectancy. Book II, with its grim narrative of war-time treachery, carnage, and ruin, moves me to horror and pity. The love and despair of Dido in Book IV, contrasted with the stern self-denial of Aeneas, create an almost intolerable pathos. If one reads the *Aeneid* continuously as a whole, the different nature and different

tempo of Books III and V intervene as a blessed and welcome relief; and I have come more and more to the conviction that, however great the individual Books may be, we miss much of the effect that Virgil meant, if we read them, as we tend to do, in isolation. They are parts of a grand design deliberately planned to vary the effects; selections are all very well, but the differing movements of the symphony ought to be heard in their proper sequence.

I admit that in the ancient world there seems to have been some question about the proper sequence of the first three Books. Servius mentions a class of critic who would have preferred an order depending on the sequence of events rather than the present artistically involved order; and Donatus in his Life of Virgil tells the curious story that Varius, one of the poet's literary executors, " duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et, qui tum secundus erat, in tertium locum transtulisse ". Frankly, I find this incredible; to reverse the order of the present Books II and III is impossible. But it may well be that our Book III was not always so firmly anchored in its present position and that, in some of Virgil's earlier and tentative arrangements, it may have been the opening Book of the series. Donatus' statement, therefore, may be mistakenly based on a tradition of some such variation. I can conceive that Virgil, having sketched out in rough the plan and divisions of his epic, worked on large sections of it, each section approximating in length and substance to the measure of a book; and I can imagine that he tried out different sequences, as he sought for the arrangement of books that would be artistically most satisfactory. For example, once he had decided on the Aeneas legend for his subject, at what point in the legend was he to begin? The obvious, though not necessarily the best, starting point was the departure from Troy, and the voyage would form one unitary coherent section of material. What, then, of the destruction of Troy by the Greeks, the Wooden Horse, the deluded Trojans, the final agony of Priam's death and the city in flames? None of this is described in Homer; ought it not therefore to be included in the new Roman epic? There is a strong case for including it, for this great catastrophe is the beginning and cause of all that follows in the

poem ; and, besides, in itself it affords a magnificent subject for epic treatment in the grand style. What place will it take, then, in the series of books ? Clearly in any causal and chronological sequence it will have to precede the voyage. But again, the voyage leads to Sicily, and Sicily is close to Carthage ; and Carthage too offers a magnificent opportunity of showing, in the break between Aeneas and Dido, the primeval origin of the historical conflict between the Romans and Carthaginians. What, then, will be the order of the books thus conceived ? Will it be I Troy, II Voyage, III Arrival at Carthage, IV Dido ? I do not find it impossible to think that, in the earliest formative stage of the *Aeneid*, the voyage may even have included the Arrival at Carthage, before this part was separated, expanded and immeasurably enhanced to its present size and content. And I suppose that, when Virgil first thought of varying the chronological order of his books on the model of Odysseus' recital in Homer, the order might have become—I Voyage, II Arrival at Carthage, III Troy (by recapitulation), IV Dido ; and then by some happy inspiration he saw the dramatic effect of making his exordium a plunge *in medias res*, and so he finally arrived at the established order of Books. I think it may be a vague tradition of some such experimental variations of sequence that may have survived to the fourth century and have been responsible for Donatus' strange statement. Certainly, by that time there could be no serious question about the order. " Ordo librorum manifestus est ", says Servius ; and there we may leave it.

While I am speaking of these experimental blue-prints (if I may be allowed the phrase) for the design of the *Aeneid*, I may perhaps touch upon an impression about Book III which on close study it is very hard to reject. There are evidences, of greater or lesser importance, which combine to suggest that what is now Book III had been designed in its earliest and tentative form as the introductory book of a different kind of poem—an Aeneid which would be a straight chronological verse narrative. I have time to mention only a few of these curious pointers but quite enough to show that Virgil, though he undoubtedly revised the book, had not brought it entirely into relation with his final

scheme for the epic. Take, for instance, the opening lines with their solemn and sonorous majesty :

> postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
> immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum
> Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia . . .

This, I suggest, has a stately magnificence of rhythm and diction which is out of keeping with a mere continuance of Aeneas' narrative but is far more suited in tone to the exordium of a poem. Then consider the point I mentioned earlier, the joint rôle of Anchises and Aeneas as leaders of the expedition : all through the Book, Anchises is seen as a wise and experienced counsellor, a very present help in trouble : and yet, just before, in Book II, he had been made to appear as a feeble, obstinate, and indeed tiresome old man. There is some discrepancy here. Virgil eliminates him at the end of Book III, just as he had eliminated Creusa at the end of Book II ; neither of them would have been convenient, indeed both of them would have been serious encumbrances, in the adventure he was planning for Aeneas at the Carthaginian court. An even more suggestive piece of evidence is the fact that in Book III the divine guide and monitor of the Trojans is Phoebus Apollo. Virgil seems to have taken him in this capacity from Homer where he is always the patron of Troy, " Phoebe, graves Troiae semper miserate labores ". " Fata viam invenient " says Helenus, " aderitque vocatus Apollo." But in fact Apollo has very little to do with the later success of the Trojans. He is here given a part which he is not given in the other books of the *Aeneid :* for as Virgil's conception of his subject grew and as his vision of Rome's power and greatness becomes the central theme of the poem, so it seems that only Jupiter the all-supreme and all-good should preside over its destiny. But what strikes me as the strangest discrepancy is the absence from Book III of Aeneas' divine mother who so often appears in the rest of the poem to help and guide her son and to plead the cause of the Trojans. She is indeed mentioned twice in the book when Aeneas is conventionally addressed as " nate dea " and once again when Anchises is named as her husband, but nowhere in Book III does she play the part which everywhere else she constantly takes ; and this is all the more surprising when

Aeneas, referring in Book I to his voyage, names her as the one who had charted and piloted his journey :

> bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
> matre dea monstrante viam.

In fact, she takes no part whatsoever in the direction of the voyage ; and the presumption must surely be that in Book III Virgil has used the introductory portion of an earlier draft *Aeneid* which was designed on quite different lines, and has only partially modified it to fit in with his later scheme for the epic.

Though the main facts of Aeneas' voyage had been approximately settled in the accepted tradition, and though in a way the rough materials for Book III were ready to hand, we can see everywhere in the Book the mind of the poet at work—selecting, modifying and controlling the material to suit his purpose. He guides the Trojans on their long journey in such a manner that they will conform generally to the tradition yet will move from stage to stage for reasons that are credible and valid ; that they will be brought by a route which is reasonably normal and which yet can be made to fit in with his design for the rest of the epic. It is worth while to look at the journey in some detail. After the sack of Troy we find that Aeneas with a company of followers had withdrawn to the mountainous region in the south of the Troad above the port of Antandrus. There he constructs a fleet from the sacred timber of Phrygian Mount Ida (which incidentally in the second half of the poem is destined to produce miraculous results). It has been revealed to him that, by the will of Heaven, he is not to settle in his own country or to rebuild Troy there ; he goes forth to seek overseas a destination so far unknown, and unspecified, where it is appointed that his new kingdom will be. His journey, therefore, is in the nature of a quest ; he sails by guess and by God. Aeneas' first movement is in accord with the traditional account : he sails north with his company to the coast of Thrace where he was supposed (through an apparent similarity of name) to have founded the town of Aenus. But here, by a miraculous revelation, the Trojans discover that Polydorus, the young son of King Priam, sent to Thrace with the royal treasure for safety during the siege, had

been savagely murdered by the Thracians, and in horror they leave that ill-omened land and sail south, straight down the Aegean Sea, to Delos where they land to enquire of the oracle of Apollo, the deity who, in the recent war, had been Troy's best ally among the gods. Apollo's answer is mysterious: they are told that they should found the new city on the site of their "ancient mother-land"; and this cryptic utterance is represented by Virgil to have been misinterpreted, and quite plausibly misinterpreted, as pointing to Crete; so by this deliberate and planned error Virgil makes them sail to the extreme south of the Aegean, avoiding by this central route all the populous and hostile parts of the Greek mainland—a convenient device on the poet's part to bring them well on their way without interference, though lacking in the human interest of men and cities. A settlement in Crete is started, but is a failure owing to the drought and plague. How can this be reconciled with Apollo's instructions? Can the god have misled them, or have they misunderstood him? Aeneas is about to turn back to Delos to make another enquiry of the oracle, but Virgil prevents this return by making the Penates, the Trojan household gods, appear to Aeneas in a vision and reveal Apollo's true meaning—that the Trojans' ancient mother-land is Hesperia, the western land, Italy, from which their ancestor Dardanus had originally come to Troy. This is decisive; they obey the god, and set sail from Crete for Hesperia. Virgil has skilfully contrived their voyage so as to bring them clear of the Aegean and down into the central Mediterranean with sailing orders to steer west. He now, by a legitimate epic device, delivers them to a storm (an epic storm!) which, blowing furiously for three days, sweeps them north-westward past the capes of the Peloponnese and up to the island group of the Strophades off the west coast of Messenia. They land tentatively on the islands, but any stay is made impossible by the winged monsters, the Harpies, that infest the place; and so on they go, coasting up the west side of Greece, past Zacynthus, Cephallenia, Ithaca (the kingdom of their hated enemy, Ulysses) and so on to Leucas and Actium, where in triumph at having won clear of the territories of their Greek enemies they celebrate the Trojan games and Aeneas

erects a trophy to the success of the conquered Trojans in eluding the victorious Greeks : *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.* They have achieved a definite stage in their journey. Soon they pass Corcyra and skirt the coast of Epirus until they reach Buthrotum, whence the distance to Calabria in the heel of Italy is about fifty miles across the outlet of the Adriatic. Here they are almost within sight of their promised land. But no part of Italy has yet been specified as their appointed destination ; they require further direction ; and by an opportune piece of invention Virgil supplies it. He makes use of the legend that Helenus, the son of Priam, is now married to Andromache the widow of Hector and that together they rule over Buthrotum, which they have turned into a miniature replica of Troy ; and in a meeting between the two Trojan leaders, he supposes Helenus, as the prophet and mouthpiece of Apollo, to give Aeneas the god's instructions about the rest of his voyage. He must not settle on the south coast of Italy, because of danger from the unfriendly Greek settlers whose cities are strung along the shore line (a gross anachronism, but it is useful) ; he must not enter the Straits of Messana—they are dominated by the monsters Scylla and Charybdis that lie in wait to engulf ships : he must steer past Mount Aetna and round the south coast of Sicily : he must be especially careful to placate the goddess Juno at this point of his journey : he will then sail from Sicily across the Tuscan Sea to Cumae in Italy, where the Sibyl will give him further instructions. The speech in which Helenus gives Aeneas this advice is long and detailed and rather overloaded and heavy. Considered as poetry or rhetoric, it is below the Virgilian standard ; considered as a functional part of the design, it is important ; in it Virgil is laying the plot of his story. He wishes for Roman historical reasons to bring his hero to Carthage : therefore he must bar to him the normal sea-route through the Messana channel which would lead up the west coast of Italy ; and so the dangers of that passage are horribly magnified in a fearsome description of Scylla and Charybdis, and Aeneas is brought round Sicily to the west point of the island, whence it is only a short distance to Africa and Carthage. So the setting is prepared for Juno's angry interruption of the voyage, for the

great storm that sweeps the fleet from Drepanum to the Syrtes, and for the tragic meeting between the Queen of Carthage and the progenitor of Rome. On the structural side Virgil has excellently contrived the movements and stages of Aeneas' voyage so as to bring him so far westwards to the very place where the dramatic climax he had planned for the last stage of the journey can reasonably begin. Book III is not just a travelogue: whether it was intended to be the opening of the poem or to have its present place, I feel that it is an essential part of the structure, and fulfils a necessary function in the economy of the plot.

Book III gives an opportunity, perhaps more than any other Book, of seeing Virgil's method of construction and of taking a look into the poet's workshop. I have earlier hinted at what I think to have been his method in the preparation and disposal of Books within the epic; here I am concerned with the choice, arrangement and insertion of material within the Books. It will only be a guess and it may be quite wrong. But I will hazard a cautious opinion. What I notice is that Virgil in each Book maintains a central action by means of his hero, Aeneas: sometimes this action slows down; sometimes it almost halts; but it is always there as a central current of movement, except in Book IX—and there the absence of Aeneas is felt so keenly that the thought and need of him pervade the Book as an actuating force. But attached to the central theme there are incidents, not unrelated to the story, not inappropriate in their context, which are in the nature of digressions or episodes: these episodes are often finished with great care and skill: they show some of the poet's best workmanship; and it looks as if he had completed them as separate pieces and then embodied them like prefabricated sections in his growing structure. I think we may recognize one of these pieces in the famous and disputed passage about Helen in Book II: here the work of completion and integration was so nearly finished that all modern editors admit the passage into the text in spite of its withdrawal by the original editors, Varius and Tucca. The piece is readily detachable; it is a small self-complete unit; the poet had made all preparations for its insertion, but at the time of his death had not decided about it finally. All the evidence goes to show that Virgil was

supremely self-critical, slow to make up his mind, always testing, experimenting, and seeking perfection. I see him as a man to whom poetic inspiration came not continuously but at times. As he meditated or worked on his poem, some idea would come welling up into his mind—suggesting perhaps a different treatment, or a new setting, or some possibility of a novel development; and he would elaborate in draft until the piece was in tolerable shape. He had always an exquisite sense of words and rhythm and a subtle power of phrasing. On the structural side he was less sure of himself—or rather, I should say, more distrustful of his first judgements. He built slowly and with much reconsideration, trying formations experimentally and resetting them to achieve a different or better effect. I am convinced his real creative strength lay in shorter pieces, in cantos rather than in solid books, in epyllia rather than in epics. No serious reader of the *Aeneid* who sees how episode after episode is built into the poem could think otherwise. To say so is not to disparage Virgil's *magnum opus;* he did achieve an over-all unity in the *Aeneid;* but he did it by the vast and prolonged labour of preparing the parts first, then assembling them, and harmonizing them and bringing them into relation with the main theme, and paying great attention to the transitions and *iuncturae* at the points of insertion. For instance, I am not surprised when, by a series of subtle and well prepared transitions, the IVth Georgic merges into the epyllion of Orpheus and Eurydice. I am not surprised when in the VIIIth *Aeneid* the legend of Hercules and Cacus is introduced, even at such length. And similarly in Book III. Here the voyage of Aeneas is central: it forms the vertebral column of the book: the episodes introduced are not irrelevant: they derive from the action and are meant to vary the interest and amplify it. Virgil's handling of this material is very different from Ovid's use of the same material in *Metamorphoses* XIII and XIV. He also treats of the voyage; but with him the voyage means nothing and leads to nothing; it is the merest framework on which to hang a group of miraculous tales which are the stuff of the poem. So it may be worthwhile to examine more closely two of the episodes in Book III and see how the poet creates and builds them.

I have chosen for scrutiny two of the longer episodes in the Book, that of Helenus in which Aeneas meets an old friend and comrade-in-arms, and that of Achaemenides in which he encounters a former enemy, a Greek who had fought under Ulysses against Troy. Both episodes give an insight into Virgil's method of construction; and the first in which the idea has been excellently conceived but the matter has not been adequately compressed, contrasts well with the other in which plot and execution are admirably balanced and finished. The meeting with Helenus has the makings of a very fine scene. It is introduced as a romantic diversion (but also a useful diversion) in the dullest part of the voyage. It gives Aeneas an opportunity of seeing for the last time some of his Trojan friends who have succeeded in building their new city and whose descendants will be allied in friendship with his Roman descendants; and it gives the poet an opportunity of escaping for a time from the catalogue of islands and ports of call on the west coast of Greece. Aeneas hears that Helenus, taken prisoner by Neoptolemus after the war, is now freed and is ruling over Epirus, and he decides to go and see him. As he approaches the city, to his amazement he finds his kinswoman, Andromache, the widow of Hector, performing the rites of the dead,

> libabat cineri Andromache manesque vocabat
> Hectoreum ad tumulum

"with wine for the ashes and invocations to the Spirit" at the cenotaph which she had consecrated as a memorial to her dead husband. From her Aeneas learns all that had happened since the end of the war—how she is now Helenus' queen and how they have built their city as a New Troy. The emotion of Andromache as she welcomes Aeneas and speaks about the unforgettable griefs of the past makes this scene the most characteristically Virgilian in the Book. There follows a good account of the meeting with Helenus and of the royal entertainment given to the Trojans—until Aeneas, remembering that Helenus is a seer and prophet of Apollo, asks him to foretell the future for him. I need not examine the prophecy in detail; it is clearly a rough draft which has not been revised. The long prophecy is like a verse itinerary. Apollo's seer has none of

Apollo's cryptic brevity. True: it gives much useful and necessary advice; it anticipates many events which do not therefore need to be narrated as they occur; and it links up with later parts of Virgil's plot. But as an utterance it is diffuse and straggling; and it shows very little of the rhetorical art which in the other speeches of the epic Virgil has used with masterly skill. The whole episode which began so well tails off into a monologue which requires more revision than any other part of the Book. I have often wondered why this is so. Can it be that Virgil has quarried from his own mine, that he left this part so ragged because, in fact, he borrowed something of its situation and materials to be elaborated in another and greater part of his poem? The circumstances are not exactly analogous; but here, praying at the shrine of her lost husband, is a widowed queen who had come through much tribulation to a relative calm; here is a newly built city which Aeneas admires and envies; here is princely hospitality for the Trojan seafarers. It could be that this early sketch supplied the design which was infinitely expanded and ennobled into the picture of Dido; and after that, the early sketch hardly mattered.

The other episode comes towards the end of the Book. The plot of it is entirely Virgil's own invention; he took it from no myth or legend: in design and completion I find it excellent—a first-class example of his skill in short pieces. The Trojans had by this time reached Sicily; they had harboured for the night under the side of Mount Aetna, where through the dark hours they had listened in terror to the rumblings of the volcano. Virgil creates the atmosphere of awe and apprehension in a passage of remarkable power, vividly describing the eruptions that shoot and glare in the sky. In the morning a strange weird being presents himself to them: (I quote from Day Lewis) "suddenly there stepped out of the woods a strange individual, a man unknown to us, in rags and a state of extreme emaciation, who stretched imploring hands to us on the shore. . . . Appallingly dirty, his beard overgrown, his rags held together with thorns, in all else he was a Greek, one who had gone to Troy once in the Greek expeditionary force." The humane, generous Trojans rescue their former enemy and encourage him to tell his

story. It must be remembered that it is now six years since the end of the war and that the Greek leader, Ulysses (as we know from Homer), returning to his kingdom in Ithaca, had had a fearsome adventure with the Cyclops who dwelt in Sicily near Mount Aetna exactly at the place where the Trojans were now camping. Virgil can hardly ignore so close a coincidence: he manages it excellently by a device reminiscent of the Messenger's Speech in tragedy. This forlorn Greek is imagined to have been one of Ulysses' crew, inadvertently left on the island after the blinding of the Cyclops, Polyphemus: and now the castaway is made to describe the frightful experiences that Ulysses and his companions had endured when they entered the Cyclops' cave. Suddenly his words receive terrifying confirmation, when the blinded monster himself appears on the hillside and, sensing the intruders, with a stupendous roar summons to his aid the whole Cyclopian people—a monstrous assembly of towering giants who line the shore as the Trojans for dear life row out to sea. Virgil is so taken and so carried away by his picture of them that he finishes it off with a simile (oddly enough, when one remembers Virgil's practice, the only simile in the Book) a rather literary simile but appropriate to the situation:

> Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentes,
> concilium horrendum, quales cum vertice celso
> aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi
> constiterunt, silva alta Iovis, lucusve Dianae.

In all this Virgil is at his best: the plot of the episode is well designed; it is skilfully and opportunely inserted into the main narrative; it begins, continues, and ends strongly; it achieves several purposes at once—for it shows the humanity of the Trojans in their treatment of an enemy, it gives a glimpse of the unspeakable Ulysses, it satisfies expectation in describing the legendary monsters of Sicily. Furthermore, it does all this with a verve and energy and accomplishment which make me feel that Virgil himself found the episode a refreshing change from the doldrums of coastwise navigation.

I have said that the personality of Aeneas in Book III is dimly drawn. Virgil gives only an outline of the figure which in the two previous Books he had endowed with many virtues and

much capacity for action. The events of the voyage offered much scope for the portrayal of heroic character, and yet somehow Aeneas fails to impress deeply. If Book III had begun the epic, this would not have mattered so much; the hero would have grown in brightness as the story unfolded and developed; but as it is, the reduction in Aeneas' candlepower is surprising, and this seems another reason for supposing that the composition of the Book was relatively early, and that it was never fully integrated by revision. However, the chief characteristic of Aeneas is there: he is *pius Aeneas*, faithful in his duty to gods, people and family, a precisian in religious observance, a careful leader, a good, almost a self-effacing, son. The recent memory of his country's defeat and the repeated frustration of his quest give him an air of sadness; and the call of the heavenly mission, which puts off his hope of a quiet, peaceful, settled life to an ever receding future, is so far a matter of obedience, not of assured faith. He longs for a termination to his wanderings: "da propriam . . . domum", he prays to Apollo at Delos, "da moenia fessis et genus et mansuram urbem". And the cry that breaks from him later, when he sees the Carthaginians completing the erection of their new city, "o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt"—this passionate cry of admiration and envy can be understood only in the light of the disappointments described in Book III.

It was on the instructions of Heaven that he and his Trojans had sailed to seek a new land; "auguriis agimur divum", he says. They do not know where the new land is; they simply act in obedience to the command—going forth "incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur". This quest for assurance of their destiny seems to me the most important element in the Book. They are religious men; they believe in the power and interest of the gods; they feel themselves to be dependent on and responsible to the supreme beings, with whose will and purpose they wish their new city to be wholly in accord. So their voyage becomes a search for knowledge of their destiny, conducted over a period of seven years, with much disappointment, and yet with encouragement and hope. It is not easy for mortals to attain to this knowledge: in this Virgilian epic there is a far wider gulf

fixed between earth and heaven than in the Homeric poems. The gods are not now so easy in their communication with mankind ; the immortals can be brought to listen and help ; but their guidance comes only fitfully, with moments of revelation and then strange silences. Book III has this in common with the whole poem : it is the story of Aeneas' search for the will of heaven and of his sacrificial resolve to endure all hardships if only he may arrive at that certainty.

His human and personal purpose in setting out is very natural : it is to replace the lost Troy by a new city that will resemble the old. In his prayer to Apollo at Delos it is for " altera Troiae Pergama " that he invokes the god's protection. Pergamea is the name he gives to his city in Crete. He has exactly the same idea as Helenus, whose city at Buthrotum has been built as a model of ancient Troy, with a Scaean gate and two watercourses called Simois and Xanthus, " Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem ". Helenus is like all pilgrims and refugees who go out from their own country : his first thought is to reconstitute the past ; he has no other idea but to restore and maintain what he and his fathers had known and valued ; and Aeneas would have been the same if Heaven had allowed it. But Fate had decided to abolish the Trojan pattern and to bring into being a new state that will be different and greater, though comprising some elements of Troy. The first step in this plan is to guide Aeneas towards Italy and gradually to accustom his mind to the thought of Italy. So Book III is a re-education, a conversion of Aeneas : he is in process of ceasing to be a Trojan and of becoming an Italian. He is becoming a forward-looking man instead of a nostalgic exile. He is passing from the old order to a new dispensation, *ἡ καίνη διαθήκη*. Juno in a sense is right when at the end of the epic she insists on the virtual extinction of the name of Troy : for the age of Laomedon's Troy is ended ; the age of Augustan Rome has begun faintly to dawn.

What are we to conclude, then, about this curious Book ? In a way it is like Aeneas himself : it is in process of becoming ; it is still partly what it had been ; it has not entirely become what it was finally meant to be. We can discern the outline and

purpose of its old form ; it has taken on enough of its new shape for us to see what Virgil intended for it. But it contains the growing revelation of Heaven's purpose for Aeneas and his Trojans, which is the most pervasive and compelling thing in the Book. It contains the voyage which in the plan of the poem is central, for it derives from the capture of Troy and it leads to Sicily and Carthage and Dido : and it presents Italy as the goal of endeavour and the land of promise. It is wonderfully diversified with incidents and marvels which are germane and relevant to the main action. I would say that it is essential to the epic, both for itself, and for the part it has in the structure as a whole.

A STRIKING HYMN FROM THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS [1]

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THE story of the first find in the spring of 1947 of the Scrolls in a cave near the Dead Sea (now indicated Qumran I) which might well have belonged to the Essenes, is by now well known. Among these Scrolls, which are seven in number,[2] is the Scroll of the Hymns. This scroll, when first acquired, comprised two separate parts, the first containing three sheets, each of which was made up of four pages, and the other consisting of seventy fragments of parchment of various sizes. They were tightly pressed together so as to form a solid lump. Many parts of the hymns were utterly decayed, while others were covered with a film of some matter which made it difficult to decipher the words underneath. The height of the pages is about 12⅝ inches. The top margins having been consumed by the elements, it is impossible to ascertain the original number of lines in each of the pages. Three pages, however, have preserved forty lines in part or in whole. All told, there are about thirty chapters and

[1] The following abbreviations are used: *'O*='*Oẓar ha-Megillōth ha-Genūzōth*, ed. E. L. Sukenik, published by Mosad Bialik, Jerusalem, Israel, 1955; DSIa = The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. i, the Isaiah MS., ed. Miller Burrows, New Haven, 1950; DSIb = The Dead Sea Scroll, Isaiah MS. included in *'O*; DSD = The Dead Sea Scroll of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. ii, the Manual of Discipline, ed. M. Burrows, New Haven, 1951; DSW=The Dead Sea Scroll, The War between the Children of Light, etc., included in *'Oẓar*; DSH = Dead Sea Scroll, Habakkuk Commentary, ed. Burrows; DDH = *'Ēdah we-'Ēdūth* (three Scrolls from the Judaean Desert), ed. A. M. Habermann, Jerusalem, Israel, 1952; V.T. = Vetus Testamentum, Leiden; JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature, Chicago; K.S. = *Kirjath Sepher*, Jerusalem, Israel; JSG = The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, by A. Dupont-Sommer, London; R = Restoration of lacunae in the MS.; Pl. = plate.

[2] These are: 1. DSIa; 2. DSIb; 3. DSD; 4. *Hymns*; 5. DSW; 6. DSH; 7. The Lamech Scroll (as yet unrolled), all the originals of which are now in Israel.

parts of chapters all of which are included in *'Oẓar*.[1] There is evidence of two different handwritings in this scroll, one being done by a better calligraphist. The divine name was at times written by the latter in the old Hebrew script. Both copyists made numerous errors, most of which they corrected themselves. In some of the corrections a third handwriting is discernible.

The following hymn, one of the largest in the *Hymns*, is included in *'Oẓar* Plates XXXIX (ll. 20-39, inclusive); the whole of XL; and XLI (ll. 1-5, inclusive). This is not the place to enter into a discussion on the *Hymns* as a whole. As to the particular hymn under review, I hope that its significance with regard to contents, rhythm and style as well as to its bearing on various phenomena of the Hebrew Bible, is brought out in some degree by the attempted translation, vocalization,[2] reconstruction and notes.

I wish to record my indebtedness to Professor Edward Robertson for many valuable suggestions, and also to Mosad Bialik for kindly allowing me to reproduce here the relevant facsimiles from *'Oẓar*.

Pl. XXXIX

20 בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֲדוֹנָי [3]
כִּי לֹא עָזַבְתָּה יָתוֹם
וְלֹא בָזִיתָה רָשׁ

* *
*

כִּי גְבוּרָתְכָה (לְאֵין חֵקֶר) [4]
21 [5] וְכִבּוֹדְכָה לְאֵין מִדָּה
וְגִבּוֹרֵי פֶלֶא מַשְׂרִיתֶיכָה [5]
וְעַם עֲנָוִים בְּטַאֲטְאֵי רַגְלֶי(כָה) . . .

[1] *'O* in addition includes: DSIb; DSW.

[2] I fully realize that this vocalization which follows the Masoretic system does not give the pronunciation of the author of the *Hymns*. It is, however, hoped that it will serve as an *additional* commentary on a difficult text.

[3] This line is superposed over אודכה, the more common opening of each of the hymns, by an apparently different hand. אודכה is singled out for deletion by way of placing dots above and below each of its letters—a common practice in the Scrolls.

[4] For R, cf. Ps. cxlv. 3-4.

[5] There is an attempt at the erasion of the first *yodh*. It is, however, visible. See p. 251, n. 9 on Translation.

22 (וְ)עַם נִמְהֲרֵי צֶדֶק
לְהַעֲלוֹת מִשְׁאוֹן יַחַד כּוֹל[1] אֲבִיּוֹנֵי חָסֶד

* * *

10 וַאֲנִי הָיִיתִי עַל עֲ(דָתְכָה[2] אֲ)דֹנָי לְרִיב
23 וּמְדָנִים לְרֵעָי
קְנָאָה וָאַף לְבָאֵי בְרִיתִי
וְרֶגֶן וּתְלוּנָה לְכָל נוֹעֲדָי
24 (וְכָל אוֹ)כְלֵי[3] לַחְמִי עָלַי הִגְדִילוּ עָקֵב
15 וַיָּלִיזוּ עָלַי בְּשִׂפַּת עָוֶל כָּל נִצְמְדֵי סוֹדִי
וְאַנְשֵׁי (בְרִי)תִי[4] סוֹרְרִים
25 וּמַלִּינִים סָבִיב
וּבְרָז הַבַּתָּה בִּי יֶלְכוּ רָכִיל לִבְנֵי הַוּוֹת
וּבַעֲבוּר הַגְּבִ(יְרָכָה)[5] בִּי[6]
20 26 וּלְמַעַן אַשְׁמָתָם
סִתַּרְתָּ מַעְיַן בִּינָה וְסוֹד אֱמֶת
וְהַמָּה הַוּוֹת לָבָם יַחְשׁוֹבוּ
27 (וְאַנְשֵׁי בְ)לִיַּעַל[7] פָּתְחוּ לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר
כַּחֲמַת תַּנִּינִים פּוֹרַחַת לְקָצִים
25 וּכְזוֹחֲלֵי[8] עָפָר יוֹרוּ לְחַ(צֵי שָׁחַת[9])
28 כְּ)פְתָנִים לְאֵין חָבָר

[1] Here comes an erasion of the still visible letters גמה, apparently part of נמהרי, written in the preceding line.

[2] I have restored עדתכה (not עדת as may be suggested by Num. xxvii. 17), as the lacuna here warrants a word containing more letters. The use of אדוני or אלי as vocatives is common in the *Hymns*.

[3] For R, cf. Ps. xli. 10. [4] For R, cf. Ob. 7.

[5] The reading here is doubtful. *'O* reads doubtfully (הגד). For my R, cf. the comparatively numerous instances where this peculiar phrase is used by the hymnologist. See e.g. *'O*, Pl. XXXVI, 24; Pl. XXXVIII, 23; Pl. XXXIX, 15.

[6] *'O* transcribes כי. See preceding note.

[7] The R אנשי בליעל (cf. 1 Kings, xxi. 13) rather than the more common בני . . . is warranted by the size of the lacuna.

[8] The last letter, the *yodh*, is added a little above the line.

[9] חצי שחת is used a number of times in the *Hymns* (cf. e.g. *'O*, Pl. XXXVII, 16; 27). Hence R.

וַתְּהִי לְכָאוֹב ׳ אָנוּשׁ וְנַעַ נִמְאָר בְּתַכְמֵי ׳ עַבְדֶּכָה
לְהַכְשִׁיל (רוּחַ)׳
29 וּלְהָתֵם כּוֹחַ
30 לְבִלְתִּי הַחֲזֵק מָעֲמָד
רַשְּׁיגוּנִי בַּמְצָרִים לְאֵין מָנוֹס
וָ֫לֵא ׳ בָּהֶם[5] . . . (וּבַ)פַּחוֹת
30 וַיֵּהֲמוּ בְּכִנּוֹר רִיבִי וּבְנִגִינוֹת יַחַד תְּלוּנָתָם
עִם שְׁאָה וּמְשׁוֹאָה
35 וַלְעוֹפוֹת
31 (צִירִים)׳ וַחֲבָלִים כְּצִירֵי יוֹלֵדָה
וַיֵּהַם עָלַי לִבִּי
קַדְרוּת לָבְשָׁתִּי
וּלְשׁוֹנִי לַחֵךְ ׳ תִּדְבַּק (מִמִּתְ)נַבְ(אֵי דְבָרִים מִ)לְּבָם׳
40 32 וְיִצָּרָם הוֹפִיעַ לִי לְמֹרוֹרִים
וַיֵּחָשֵׁךְ מְאוֹר פָּנַי לַאֲפֵלָה
וְהוֹדִי נֶהְפַּךְ לְמַשְׁחוֹר
וְאַתָּ אֵלִי
33 מֶרְחָב פָּתַחְתָּה בְּלִבָּבִי
45 וַיּוֹסִפוּה לְצוּקָה
וָיָשׂוּכוּ בַּעֲדִי בְּצַלְמָוֶת
וְאוֹכְלָה בְּלֶחֶם אֲנָחָה
וְשִׁקּוּי בְּדָמָעוֹת אֵין כָּלָה
34

[1] *'O* transcribes כאיב , taking, perhaps in keeping with the Masoretic reading (Is. xvii. 11), the *yodh* after the *'aleph* as indicating the *ẓere*. The reading כאוב seems to be preferable as a *ẓere* is as a rule not followed by *yodh* in the Scrolls. See p. 253, n. 12.

[2] See special slip attached to *'O*, p. 7.

[3] This appears to be the most likely R. Cf. further, line 55. The size of the space of the lacuna which seems to be capable of containing more than three letters of which רוח is composed, may be ignored here since comparatively large spaces are to be found between many of the words in the manuscript.

[4] For the *manner* of my pointing, cf. the Masoretic pointing in similar instances (e.g. Jer. l. 29).

[5] *'O* has [ ] בהב .

[6] For R, cf. Is. xiii. 8.

[7] Traces of כי are visible (the *kaph* partly merged into the final-*kaph*). The reading לחכי , which is in keeping with Ps. cxxxvii. 6, was thus first intended.

[8] For the last few Rs, cf. Ezek. xiii. 2, 17.

כִּי עָשְׁשׁוּ מִכַּעַס עֵינָי
וְנַפְשִׁי בְּמָרוֹרֵי יוֹם
35 תָּחַ(לוּאִים) וְיָגוֹן יְסוֹבְבוּנִי
וּבוֹשֶׁת עַל פָּנִים
וַיְהָפֵךְ לִי לַ(חְמִי)[1] לְרִיב
וְשִׁקּוּנִי לְבַעַל מְדָנִים
36 55 וַיָּבוֹא בְּעַצְ(מוֹתַי) לְהַכְשִׁיל רוּחַ
וּלְכַלּוֹת כּוֹחַ
כְּרָזֵי פֶּשַׁע מְשַׁנְּאִים מַעֲשֵׂי אֵל בְּאַשְׁמָתָם
37 כִּי נֶאֱסַרְ(תִּי) בַּעֲבוֹתִים לְאֵין נַתֵּק
וְחָקִים
60 לְלוֹא יְשֻׁבָּרוּ
וְחוֹמַת עוֹ(ז תְּסוֹבְבֵנִי
וּ)בְרִיחֵי בַרְזֶל וְדַלְוֹת(ת נְחוֹשֶׁת[2]
38 וּבֵית כְּ)לְאִי עִם תְּהוֹם נֶהְשָׁב[3]
לְאֵין (מָנוֹס) . . .
65
39 (וְנַחֲלֵי בְלִי)עַל[4] אָפְפוּ נַפְשִׁי
לְ(אֵין פַּלֵּט)[5] . . .

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2 70 (יָחִיל)[6] לִבִּי בְּנֶאֱצָ(ם עֲצַת עָלְיוֹן)[7]

(וַיָּבִיאוּ שׁוֹאָה לְאֵין מַרְפֵּא)[8]

[1] Part of the *ḥeth* is visible. [2] For R, cf. Ps. cvii. 16.

[3] תי is clearly visible after נחשב, the *yodh* being drawn closely to the *lamedh* of its following word. There also seem to be dots above and below the *taw* as well as a dot above the *yodh* to indicate deletion. The original, thus, had נחשבתי, "I am counted . . .", having perhaps in mind Ps. lxxxviii. 5.

[4] '*O* transcribes לעל[', but a close scrutiny of the manuscript reveals the above reading (the *yodh* after the first *lamedh* being damaged and almost completely eradicated by atmospheric agencies). For R, cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 5.

[5] For R, cf. אספו לאין פלט (*Hymns*, '*O*, Pl. XXXVII, 28-9).

[6] For this possible R, cf. Ps. lv. 5. [7] *Ibid.* cf. Ps. cvii. 11.

[8] This likely R is in keeping with the style of the *Hymns*, especially when followed by lines such as 73 and 74.

3 וְהַוֵּה לְאֵין חֵקֶר
כָּלָה לְאֵין (מִחְיָה)[1]

* *
*

75 . . . . . .
(וְאַתָּה אֵלִי)[2]

4 גָּלִיתָה אָוְנִי (בְּתוֹךְ) ס(וֹד) מוֹכִיחֵי צֶדֶק
עַם (דּוֹבֵר תָּמִים)[3] . . .

5 (וַתַּרְחִיקֵנִי) מֵעֲדַת (שָׁוְ)א[4] וּמְסוֹד חָמָס

80 וַתַּבִּיאֵנִי בַּעֲצַת (צַדִּיקִים הַמְנֻקִּים מִכָּול פֶּשַׁע וְ(אַשְׁמָה

6 וָאֵדָעָה כִּי יֵשׁ מְקוֹר לְשָׁבֵי פָּשַׁע
וְעוֹזְבֵי חַטָּאָה בָּהּ (לֹא יִכָּשֵׁלוּ)[5]

7 וַנַּפְשִׁי תִּכְמַהּ[6] לְ)הִתְהַלֵּךְ בִּדְרָכֶיךָ לְבָכָה לְאֵין עָוֶל
וְאֶגְחֲמָה עַל הֲמוֹן עָם וְעַל שְׁאוֹן מַ(מְלָ)כוֹת בְּהֶאָסְפָם (יָהַד[7]

* *
*

85 8 יָד)עְתִּי אֲשֶׁר תָּרִים לְמַצְעָר מִחְיָה בְּעַמְּכָה
וּשְׁאֵרִית בְּנַחֲלָתֶכָה
וּתְזַקְּקֵם לְהִטָּהֵר מֵאַשְׁמָה . . .

9 כִּיא כָּול מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם בַּאֱמֶתֶכָה
וּבַחֲסָדֶיךָ תִּשְׁפְּטֵם

90 בַּהֲמוֹן רַחֲמִים
וְרוֹב סְלִיחָה
וְכַפֶּיכָה לְהוֹרוֹתָם

10 וְכִישׁוֹר[8] אֲמָתְכָה לַהֲכִינָם בַּעֲצָתֶכָה לִכְבוֹדֶכָה

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 12 may perhaps support this possible R. Note that מחיה occurs further, line 85.

[2] Common opening words in the *Hymns*. See e.g. above line 43; further line 123.

[3] The Rs in the last two lines are based on parallelism which is not an uncommon feature in the *Hymns*.

[4] See preceding note, שוא being parallel with חמס.

[5] The R is suggested by "the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them, but the transgressors shall fall therein" (Hos. xiv. 10).

[6] The verb כמה is used again in line 129. [7] Cf. 2 Sam. x. 15.

[8] וכישור has a *waw* superposed after the first *yodh*, due perhaps to confusing it with ישור = ישר (of the *qotl* pattern). Cf. the numerous nouns known as segholates according to the Masoretic pointing which in the Scrolls, however, have *waw* after second radical. See p. 258 n. 2.

וּלְמַעֲנָכָה עֲשִׂי(תָנִי)[1] לְ(בַעַ)ל תּוֹרָה

11 95 וַ(אֲאַ)לְ(פָּה) אֶת[2] אַנְשֵׁי עֲצָתְכָה בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם

לְסַפֵּר לְדוֹרוֹת עוֹלָם נִפְלְאוֹתֶיכָה

12 וּבְגִבּוֹרוֹתְ (יָכָה יְשׁוּ)חֲחוּ לְאֵין הַשְׁבֵּת

וְיֵדְעוּ כָּול גּוֹיִם אֲמָתֶכָה

וְכָול לְאֻמִּים כְּבוֹדֶכָה

13 100 כִּי הַבְיאוֹתָה (עֻוזְכָה וְה)וֹדְכָה[3] לְכָול אַנְשֵׁי עֲצָתֶכָה

וּבְגוֹרָל יַחַד עִם מַלְאֲכֵי פָנִים

וְאֵין מֵלִיץ בֵּנַיִם לִקְ(הָלֶכָה

14 וְאֵין מֵ(שִׁיב כְּרוּז[4]

כִּי (קְהַ)ל (עֲצָתְ(כָה)[5] הֵם[6]

105 וְהֵם יָשִׁיבוּ[7] בְּפִי כְבוֹדֶכָה

וְיִהְיוּ שָׁרֶיכָה בְּגוֹרַ(ל מַלְאָכִים)[8]

15 פָּרַח כִּצִי(ץ הַשָּׁדֶה[9] עַ)ד עוֹלָם

לְגַדֵּל[10] נֵצֶר לָעֻופִי[11] מַטָּעַת עוֹלָם

וְיָצֶל צֵל עַל כָּול (עֵבֶר

16 110 וְצַמַּרְתּוֹ) תַּגִּיעַ[12] עַד שְׁ(מָיִם

וְכָול) שָׁרָשָׁיו עַד תְּהוֹם

וְכָול נַהֲרוֹת עֵדֶן (יַשְׁקוּ דְ)לִ(י)וֹתָיו

17 וְהָיָהְלְ (עֵץ רָם[13] אֵין) חֵקֶר

[1] *'O* has עשיתה .

[2] Only part of the letters of the last word are discernible.

[3] Or ודכה(וכב).

[4] The last letter of this word looks more like a *waw*.

[5] *'O* transcribes the two visible letters of this word תד .

[6] The reading here is obscure. *'O* doubtfully reads בה .

[7] *'O* transcribes ישובו .

[8] For R, cf. . . . עם מלאכי . . . ובגורל (l. 101).

[9] For R, cf. Ps. ciii. 15; Is. xl. 16. *'O* does not record the *yodh* of כציץ . See p. 259, n. 5.

[10] The *daleth* is superposed.

[11] A *mem*, which is the initial letter of its following word, מטעת , was originally written as the second letter of this word. It was partially erased and substituted by *'ayin*. The "snout" of the *mem* which is merged in the *'ayin* is still discernible.

[12] Or ויגיע ראשו , thus reducing one letter, although the lacuna here seems to be capable of comprising another letter, since the spaces between words in the manuscript differ. See p. 244, n. 3.

[13] For רם applied to plants, cf. Is. ii. 13.

(וּבְדִיו) עָרוּ[1] עַל תֵּבֶל לְאֵין אָפֵס
וְעַד שְׁאוֹל (יַגִּיעוּ . . .
(וְ)הָיָה מַעֲרַב אוֹר
לְמָקוֹר עוֹלָם לְאֵין הָסֵר
בְּשִׁבְיֵי נָוְהוּ יָבְעֲרוּ כָּול בְּנֵי עַוְלָה
(וִיהִי) לְאֵשׁ בּוֹעֶרֶת בְּכָול אַנְשֵׁי אַשְׁמָה עַד כָּלָה

* *
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וְהֵמָּה נִצְמְדֵי תְעוּדָתִי
פְּוּתוּ בְמַעֲשֵׂה שָׁלוֹם וּצְדָקָה[2]
(וּ)בַעֲבוֹדַת צֶדֶק
וְאַתָּה אֵל
צִוִּיתָם לְהוֹעִיל מִדַּרְכֵיהֶם
בְּדֶרֶךְ ק(וֹדֶשׁ וּבְנִתִיבַת אַהֲ)בָה
וְעָרֵל וְטָמֵא וּפָרִיץ בַּל יַעֲוִבְרֶנָּה[3]
יַתְמוֹטְטוּ מִדֶּרֶךְ לִבֶּכָה
וּבְהַוָּוה (יַחְפּוֹצוּ[4]
וּלְרָעָה)[5] יְכִמּוּא
וְיֵעָץ בְּלִיַּעַל עִם לְבָבָם
(וַיַּחְשְׁ)בוּ[6] מַחְשֶׁבֶת רִשְׁעָה
יִתְגּוֹלְלוּ בְּאַשְׁמָה

* *
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(הָיִ)תִי כְּמַלָּח בָּאֳנִיָּה בְּזַעַף יַמִּים
גַּלֵּיהֶם וְכָול מִשְׁבְּרֵיהֶם עָלַי הָמוּ רוּחַ עַוָּוִים[7]

[1] ובדיו is damaged except for the initial two letters of which parts seem to be visible. The word that follows it, ערו, raised above the line owing to a tear in the manuscript, is clearly seen except for the *'ayin* whose base is missing. *'O*, however, does not transcribe it. See p. 259, n. 11.

[2] For this possible R, cf. Is. xxxii. 17. The leg of the *qoph* of וצדקה is visible.

[3] For the strange morphology, see H. Yalon, *K.S.*, vol. xxvi, 3-4, pp. 241-2, where a number of similar forms in the *M.T.* are noted (e.g. Job xx. 26; Jer. v. 6).

[4] This reading is in keeping with that of similar words in the Scrolls. See further, line 164.

[5] For R, cf. perhaps Is. xlvii. 11.

[6] The last two letters, not transcribed in *'O*, are partly damaged.

[7] See p. 261, n. 3.

(וְאֵין) דָּמָה לְהָשִׁיב נָפֶשׁ
וְאֵין נְתִיבָת[1] לְיַשֵּׁר דֶּרֶךְ עַל פְּנֵי מָיִם
וַיַּהַם תְּהוֹם לְאַנָּחָתִי
וַ(אַגִּיעַ) עַד שַׁעֲרֵי מָוֶת
וָאֶהְיֶה כְּבָא בְעִיר מָצוֹר
וְנָעוֹז בְּחוֹמָה וְשִׂגְבָּה[2]
עַד פַּלֵּט
וָאֶשָּׂ(עֲנָה עַל) אֲמִתֶּכָה אֵלַי
כִּי אַתָּה תָּשִׂים סוֹד עַל סָלַע
וּכְפִיס עַל קַו מִשְׁפָּט
וּמִשְׁקֶלֶת . . .
לַ(הֲי)וֹת אַבְנֵי בָחַן
לְבַ(נֵּ)י(ת)[3] עוֹז
לְלוֹא תִתְעַוָּעַ
וְכָל בָּאֶיהָ בַּל יְמוֹטוּ
וְלוֹא יָבוֹא זָר (בָּהּ)[4]
דָּלָתֶ)יהָ דְּלָתֵי מָגֵן
לְאֵין מָבוֹא
וּבְרִיחֵי עוֹז
לְלוֹא יְשׁוּבָרוּ
בַּל יָבוֹא גְּדוּד בִּכְלֵי מִלְחַמְתּוֹ
עִם תּוֹם כָּוֹל חַ(רְבוֹת)[5] מִלְחֶמֶת רְשָׁעָה
וְאָז תָּחִישׁ חֶרֶב אֵל בְּקֶץ מִשְׁפָּט
וְכָל בְּנֵי אָ(מָ)תּוֹ יֵעוֹרוּ לַ(כַּלּוֹת . . .) רְשָׁעָה
וְכָל בְּנֵי אַשְׁמָה לוֹא יִהְיוּ עוֹד
וְיֵדְרוֹךְ גִּבּוֹר קַשְׁתּוֹ
וְיִפְתַּח מָצוֹר[6] . . . לְמֶרְחָב אֵין קֵץ
וְשַׁעֲרֵי עוֹלָם

[1] For נתיבת, the *beth* with *patah* (cf. Lam. ii. 18). Part of the *taw* to the left has been heavily inked over. The original perhaps having been נתיבה (see p. 261, n. 4, and cf. the Aramaic where the original *t* of the fem. is usually retained to form adverbs).
[2] The *sin* hangs above an erasion.
[3] Rather than בנין, to make it agree with the fem. verb of the following line.
[4] For בא followed by ב, cf. Jer. ix. 20.
[5] Or חלאת (cf. Ezek. xxiv. 11).
[6] Or מצור, with *shewa*.

לְהוֹצִיא כְּלֵי מִלְחָמוֹת
וַיַּעֲצוֹ(ר)וּ[1] מִקְצֶה עַד (קָצֶה
32 165 וְלוֹא יִהְיֶה מִפְּ)לָט לְיֹצֵר אַשְׁמָה
לְכָלָה יְרֻמּוֹסוּ[2]
וְאֵין שְׁ(אֵרִית לָהֶם
וְאֵין) תִּקְוָה
בְּרוֹב (חֵילָם)
33 170 וּלְכָל גִּבּוֹרֵי מִלְחָמוֹת[3] אֵין מָנוֹס
כִּי לְאֵל עֶלְיוֹן הַ(תְּשׁוּעָה וַהַתִּפְאָ)רֶ(ת)[4] . . .
34 וְשׁוֹכְבֵי עָפָר[5] הֲרִימוּ תֹּרֶן
וְתוֹלַעַת מְתִים נָשְׂאוּ נֵס
35 לָהוֹ(דִיעַ[6] כִּי נ)כְרְתוּ (רְשָׁעִים) בְּמִלְחֲמוֹת זֵדִים
175 וּמַעֲבִיר שׁוֹט שׁוֹטֵף בַּל יָבוֹא בַּמִּבְצָר . . .
36 .....ל.....לְתָפֵל וּכְכְפִיס לֹא.....

***

Pl. XLI

1 .....אֲנִי וְאֶלְמָתִי (כְּרָחֵל
וְנִגְזַרְתִּי מֵאֶרֶ(ץ[7] אֱלֹהַ . . .[8]
(כָּתֵף נוֹפֶלֶת מִשְׁכְּמָה
2 180 וְאֶזְרוֹ)עַי נִשְׁבֶּרֶת מִקָּנֶה
וַתָּטְבַּע בַּבֹּץ[9] רַגְלִי
3 שָׁעוֹ עֵינַי מֵרְאוֹת רָע

[1] For grammatical form, see Yalon, *Sinai*, 26, pp. 278-80 and *K.S.*, vol. xxvi, 3-4, p. 241.

[2] For similar grammatical forms in other verbs, see preceding n. as well as p. 248, n. 3.

[3] The *waw* is raised above the line.

[4] For R of תשועה, cf. Prov. xxi. 31, and for תפארת cf. Judges iv. 9, both of which bear on war.

[5] The reading is doubtful. יושבי עפר is also a possibility. See p. 263, n. 9.

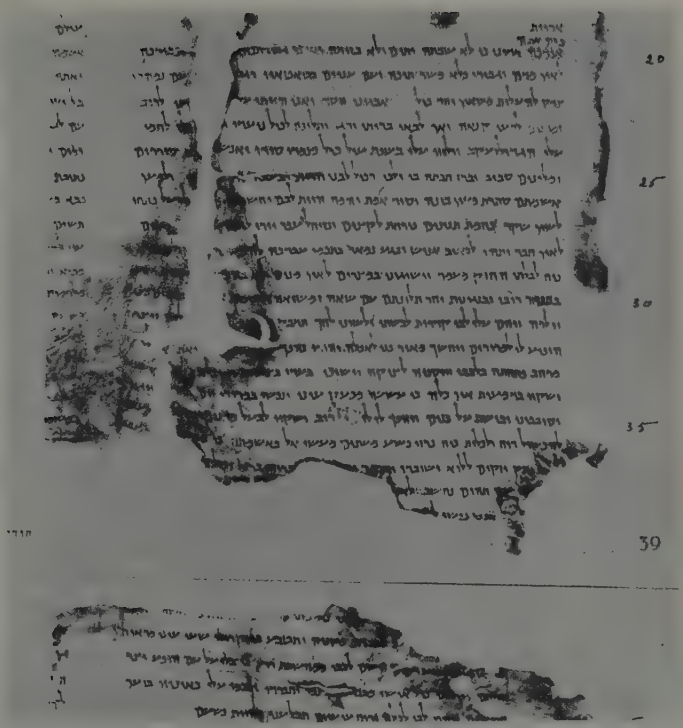
[6] *'O* transcribes לח, instead of להו.

[7] For this possible R, cf. Is. liii. 7-8. Part of the *resh* of כרחל seem to be visible. The *resh* of מארץ, however, does not appear to fit the form of the part of the letter preceding the final-*ṣade*.

[8] A doubtful reading, since אל is the usual word applied to God.

[9] For R, cf. Job xxxi. 22.

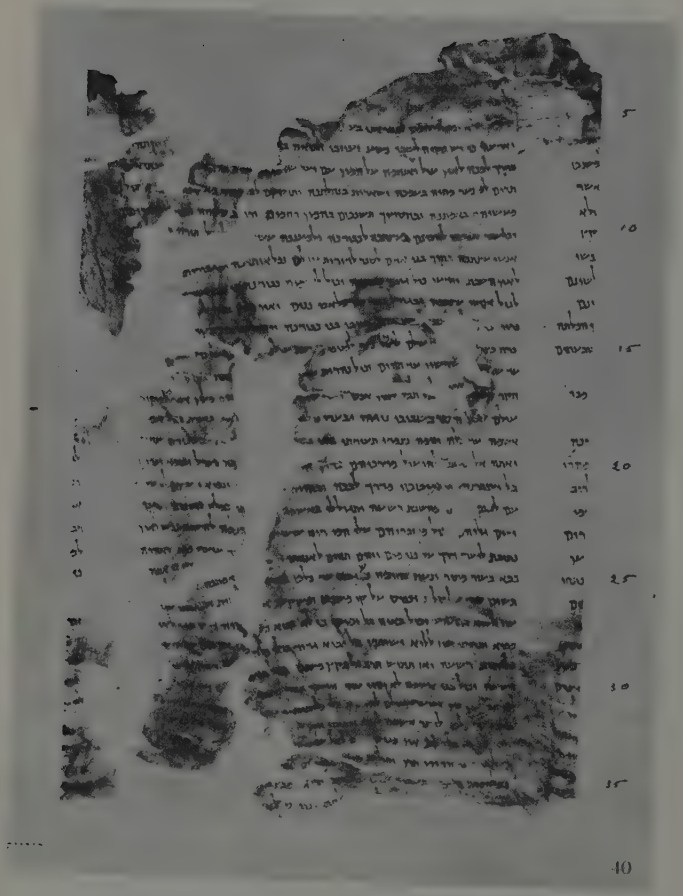
[10] Read בבץ and note the dittography. For a somewhat similar case of dittography, cf. perhaps בבין (Is. xliv. 4). Cf. also 2 Kings xv. 16.



From *'Ozar ha-Megillōth ha-Genūzôth*, ed. E. L. Sukenik (1955), Plates XXXIX and XLI.

Above the line : Plate XXXIX.

Below the line : Plate XLI, ll. 1–5, a continuation of Plate XL (for which see overleaf).



From *'Ozar ha-Megillōth ha-Genūzōth*, ed. E. L. Sukenik (1955), Plate XL (continued on Plate XLI, for which see overleaf).

אָוְנֵי[1] מַשְׁמוֹעַ דָּמִים
הָשֵׂם לְבָבִי מְמַחֲשֶׁבֶת רוֹעַ
185 כִּי בְלִיַּעַל עָם הוֹפְעַ
4 יֵצֶר הַוּוֹתָם[2]
וַיָּרוֹעוּ כָּל אֻשֵּׁי מַבְנִיתִי
וַעֲצָמַי יִתְפָּרָדוּ
5 וּתְכָמַי עָלוּ כָּאֲוֹנִיָּה בְּזַעַף חֲרִישִׁית
190 וַיֶּהֱם לִבִּי לְכָלָה
וְרוּחַ עַוָּלִים[3] תְּבַלְּעֵנִי מֵהַוּוֹת פִּשְׁעָם

Translation

Blessed art thou, O Lord,
For thou hast not forsaken the orphan[4]
And thou hast not despised the poor.[5]

***

Verily,[6] thy strength (is unsearchable)
5 And thy glory is immeasurable,[7]
And the wonderful mighty[8] are thy hosts,[9]
And the humble people[10] are among those that cleanse[11]
(thy) feet[12] . . .

[1] For the singular, cf. Is. xxxiii. 15, where we have אזנו.

[2] *O* transcribes היותם, which may be right if the *Kethib* in Job vi. 2 is to be followed. [3] See p. 261, n. 3.

[4] Cf. Ps. ix. 11; Jer. xlix. 11. [5] Cf. Prov. xvii. 5.

[6] The intensive force of כי is not uncommon in Classical Hebrew (cf. e.g. Num. xxiii. 23; Is. xxxii. 13). [7] Cf. Ps. cxlv. 3-6. [8] Cf. Is. ix. 5.

[9] An Aramaic influence. Targum renders מחנה אלהים (Gen. xxxii. 3) . . . משריתא, "the host . . .". In the manuscript there is evidence of an attempt having been made (by the first copyist or by later hand) to erase the first *yodh* so as to make the word read משרתיכה, "thy ministers", being perhaps mindful of Ps. civ. 4.

[10] Cf. עם עני which stands in opposite parallel with עינים רמות (Ps. xviii. 28).

[11] Apparently a construct plu. noun from טאטא (for which cf. Is. xiv. 23) treated as טאטה, the second *'aleph* being vocalic (cf. the post Biblical גבאי, "collector", root גבה). It is interesting to note that Qimhi in discussing טאטא suggests also טאה as its possible root letters (see *Sepher ha-Shorashim le-RaDaQ vide* טאטא).

[12] Cf. "let thy handmaid be a servant to wash the feet . . ." (I Sam. xxv. 41) and "they shall lick up the dust of thy feet" (Is. xlix. 23). However, the application of טאטא to feet is rather strange.

(And so are) the people who are eager to execute righteousness [1]
(All of whom) combine together [2] to relieve from tumult [3] all the humble pious.[4]

***

And I became (a subject) for strife to thy (congregation), O Lord,
And contention to my friends,[5]
Jealousy and anger to those who enter my covenant [6]
And grumbling [7] and murmuring to all my assembly.[8]
And (all those who eat) my bread have lifted up (their) heel against me [9]
And all the adherents [10] of my intimate circle have slandered [11] me, using perverse language.

[1] Cf. Is. xvi. 5. Note that מהר in the Niphal is used in the Bible in a derogatory sense (cf. e.g. Hab. i. 6; Job, v. 13). However, here and elsewhere in the *Hymns* (cf. e.g. '*O* Pls. XXXV, 35; XXXVI, 9). (Cf. also DSD, Pl. X, 26) the Niphal is used in the good sense.

[2] For a similar connotation of יהד, cf. Job xvi. 10.

[3] The comparison with Ps. l. 3, where we have the additional word מבור, may be of some textual interest.

[4] אביון seems to be parallel here with עני, for which see p. 251, n. 10. A less likely rendering is "all those who are in want of mercy" (cf. Prov. xii. 9). The reference may well be to the members of the Sect.

[5] Cf. Jer. xv. 10. That this and the following lines speak about a serious split in the Sect seems obvious. Have these rebellious tale-bearers, etc., ultimately handed over the hymnologist (who may well have been the "Teacher of Righteousness") into the hands of the "Wicked Priest" about whom we are told (DSH, Pl. LX, col. II, ll. 4-7) that he persecuted the "Teacher of Righteousness"?

[6] It is perhaps plausible to connect this "entrance of covenant" with the סרך היחד, about which we are told at length in DSD, as well as in DDH.

[7] Apparently a segholate noun of the V רגן, "to grumble". Cf. Deut. i. 27 of either the *qaṭl* class or the *qiṭl* class (a noun of the *qoṭl* class would, as the rule is in the Scrolls, have a *waw*, indicating the (short) *o*). However, a non-segholate noun of some other pattern can not be excluded.

[8] For this translation, cf. Num. xiv. 35, and 1 Kings viii. 5.

[9] Cf. Ps. xli. 10.

[10] Cf. נצמדי תעודתי, further line 120. In the Bible the V צמד in the Niphal, which is used invariably in connection with worship of Baal Peor (cf. Num. xxv. 5; Ps. cvi. 28), is always followed by *lamedh*.

[11] The Hiphil of לוז with this sense is frequently found in the Talmudic literature (cf. e.g. Yerushalmi Demai II, 23. 3). In Prov. iv. 21 (where the first radical has a *dagesh forte*), the meaning is "to depart". Cf., however, Prov. iv. 24.

And the members of my (covenant) are rebellious
And murmur round about.
Going up and down as tale-bearers to people bent on destruction against the secret thou hast enshrined [1] within me.
And (it is) because (thou wishest to demonstrate thy strength) through me [2]
As well as because of their guilt
(That) thou hast hidden [3] the fountain of understanding and the secret of truth.[4]
And they devised mischief in their heart,[5]
(And men of) Belial opened a lying tongue.[6]
(The effect of which is) as that of the poison of dragons,[7]
breaking forth [8] with thorns [9]
And they throw (their) [10] (deadly arrows) as do serpents of the dust.[11]
(Yea, they are like) asps over which no charm prevails.
And it turned into a desperate grief [12] and a malignant [13] wound in the flesh [14] of thy servant

[1] Qal second per. masc. of חבב (with vocalic *he* at the end), with the meaning it has in the noun חב, "bosom" (cf. Job, xxxi. 33). It is used similarly elsewhere in the *Hymns* (*'O*, Pl. XXXIX, 11).

[2] See p. 243, notes 5 and 6. [3] For the Piel of סתר, cf. Is. xvi. 3.

[4] The place where these are hidden is clearly in the person of the hymnologist. This idea repeats itself numerous times in the *Hymns*. Cf. e.g. line 18 above and *'O*, Pl. XXXIX, 10; Pl. XLII, 4, 10-11, 16, 18. The last three lines are thus a parenthesis explaining why God has enshrined the secret (of understanding) within him mentioned in line 18. [5] Cf. Mic. vii. 3.

[6] We have here a somewhat condensed version of Ps. cix. 2.

[7] Cf. Deut. xxxii. 33.

[8] For פרח used transitively, cf. Exod. ix. 9. See following note.

[9] The *lamedh* of לקצים serves here as a mark of the accusative as is often the case in Aramaic. [10] See preceding note. [11] Cf. Deut. xxxii. 24.

[12] Cf. Is. xvii. 11. The noun כאוב (cf. מכאוב as well as מרור and ממרור), instead of כאב, is interesting. The same form appears elsewhere in the *Hymns* (*'O*, Pl. XLII, 28) as well as in DSIa (Pl. XIV, 18; Pl. LII, 21). For preference given in the Scrolls for nouns of another category ending with a shut syllable in which is embodied a *waw* indicating apparently the *o* sound, cf. DSD, Pl. IV, 9-10. See p. 244, n. 1.

[13] Cf. צרעת ממארת (Lev. xiii. 21). The Niphal, however, is found neither in the Bible nor in the Talmudic literature.

[14] I have given this word, a record of which is found nowhere else in the various strata of Hebrew literature or, as it seems, in any cognate Semitic language (see however, Y. Yadin, "A note on DSD 20", JBL, March 1955, p. 41, n. 11), a

To make (the spirit) stumble,
And to exhaust the strength [1]
So that no stand can be made.[2]
And they have overtaken me in straits [3] without my being able to escape.
And I wearied [4] in them [5] . . . (and in the) snares [6]
And my adversaries [7] roared forth their complaint (against me) with a lyre [8] accompanied by mocking songs.[9]
Bringing in their train ruin and desolation.[10]
Horrors,[11]
(Pains) and pangs as are the pangs of a woman that travails [12]

free rendering and in keeping with the context. It is reasonable to assume that it is peculiar to the sect from which the Scrolls originated. It appears once in the DSD (Pl. IV, 20) in the sense of "tissue" and once more (further, line 189) in the sense of "inward parts". It seems to appear also in a fragment of the *Hymns* (*'O*, Pl. LVIII, No. 47, last line).

[1] Cf. Lam. i. 12. להתם (infinitive Hiphil of תמם) is a favourite word in the *Hymns*.

[2] Cf. ואין מָעָמָד (Ps. lxix. 3). It is interesting to note that Modern Hebrew has coined independently החזק מעמד, with the same shade of meaning as here, preferring, however, to give מעמד the *maqṭal* pattern, for which cf. Is. xxii. 19.

[3] Cf. Lam. i. 3.

[4] V לאה with apocopated *he* and syncopated *'aleph*. For similar syncopations in the Scrolls, cf. e.g. ופרי, instead of ופארי (DSW, *'O*, Pl. XXII, 11); ברשית, instead of בראשית (*Hymns*, *'O*, Pl. XLVI, 6); שרית, instead of שארית (DSD, Pl. IV, 14).

[5] Viz. in the straits. For לאה followed by ב, cf. Is. xlvii. 13.

[6] Apparently an anomalous plural of פח, "snare", used here as a parallel to מצרים of the preceding line. The theme of the wicked's spreading of snares and nets recurs in various hymns (cf. e.g. *'O*, Pls. XXXVI, 29; XXXVII, 26). It is possible, however, that פחת, a "pit", is meant here, for many of the segholates appear in the Scrolls, presumably under an Aramaic influence, with *waw* after the second radical. Cf. e.g. להוב, instead of להב (*Hymns*, *'O*, Pl. XXXVII, 30); רחוב, instead of רחב (DSD, Pl. IV, 9).

[7] ריבי, instead of יריבי (in Is. xlix. 25 we seem to have the opposite: יריב, instead of ריב). Cf. however, Ps. xxxv. 1. A similar case appears to be that of 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 (cf. 1 Chron. xi. 46). We may, however, have here an elliptical expression for אנשי ריבי, for which cf. Is. xli. 11.

[8] The use of a lyre in connection with enemies levelling complaints is rather strange. Cf. however, Is. xxiii. 16, where the same instrument is used by a disreputable person to perform an objectionable deed.

[9] For this translation, cf. Lam. iii. 14, where נגינתם is parallel with שחוק.

[10] Cf. Job xxx. 3.

[11] Apparently plural of זלעופה or זלעופת. In Pls. CXIX, 53 we have the sing. זלעפה, the *'ayin* pointed with *qamez*.

[12] Cf. Is. xxi. 3.

And my heart is disquieted [1] in me; [2]
I am clothed with gloom,[3]
And my tongue cleaves to (my) palate [4] (because of those who prophesy out of) their own hearts.[5]
And their form [6] comes forth [7] to (cause me) bitterness,[8]
Thus the brightness of my face [9] turns into darkness,
And my comeliness changes into blackness [10]
And thou, my God,[11]
Hast made my heart free from distress,[12]
But they have continued [13] to bring it into distress [14],
And have covered me [15] with the shadow of death.
And I have eaten bread with groaning [16]

[1] Intransitive Qal of המה with *waw* consecutive and *he* apocopated.

[2] Cf. "why art thou cast down, my soul? and why art thou disquieted in me?" (ותהמי עלי) (Ps. xlii. 6).

[3] Cf. Is. l. 3.

[4] Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6, and see p. 244, n. 7.

[5] For a similar complaint against false prophets elsewhere in the *Hymns*, cf. *'O*, Pl. XXXVIII, 16.

[6] The reference is to the persons of the false prophets. For a similar meaning of יצר, cf. Ps. ciii. 14.

[7] For the extension of the connotation of the Biblical יפע in the Hiphil, cf. Gen. Rab., § 12.

[8] Cf. Lam. iii. 15.

[9] Cf. Ps. xc. 8.

[10] Cf. Dan. x. 8, where we read "and my comeliness turned into משחית (= 'disfigurement')". The newly coined משחור, a noun on the pattern of *miqṭol*, is more fitting here as a parallel to "darkness". One may note here that משחר, a noun on the pattern of *miqṭal*, with the meaning of "blackness" (not "dawn", for which cf. Ps. cx. 3), is found in medieval poetry of the Spanish School. Cf. e.g. משחר שער (*Sepher ha-'Anaq*, by Mosheh ibn Ezra, ed. Brodi (Berlin, 1935), i. 359, l. 41).

[11] = ואתה אלי, not found in the Bible, is peculiar to the *Hymns* (cf. e.g. *'O*, Pl. XXXIX, 14, 18). Cf. however, Ps. lxiii. 2, and I Chron. xvii. 25. For את, instead of אתה, cf. Num. xi. 15; Deut. v. 24.

[12] Lit. "thou hast opened a spacious place in my heart". My translation, however, is in keeping with 2 Sam. xxii. 20, where similar words are found.

[13] = ויוסיפו. For a similar defective script, cf. Judges iii. 12. For the *he* after the *waw*, cf. the great number of the seemingly superfluous *he*s at the end of certain words in the Scrolls.

[14] = לצוקו (for a similar instance, cf. Num. x. 36), which in turn has here the force of the Hiphil. Elsewhere in the *Hymns*, the force of a Hiphil verbal noun is applied to מצוקה (*'O*, Pl. XXXIX, 17).

[15] = ויסכו, V סכך. The word בעדי, however, which follows it brings to one's mind Job i. 10, where the root is שוך.

[16] = לחם באנחה. Syntactical anomalies of this sort are found in the *Hymns* (cf. e.g. *'O*, Pl. XXXVI, 10).

And (swallowed) drink with never ending [1] tears,
Yea,[2] my eyes are wasted from grief [3]
And my soul (is consumed) by daily bitterness.[4]
(Diseases) and sorrow surround me [5]
And shame covers (my) face.[6]
And my (bread) turned into an adversary [7] against me,
And my drink into an enemy.[8]
Moreover, they [9] come into (my bones) to cause to stumble my spirit
And to consume (my) strength ;
So do sinful secrets (to) distort [10] the works of God [11] by their guilt.
Verily,[12] (I) was bound with cords which cannot be broken,
And (with) fetters
Which can not be burst asunder
And a strong wall (encompasses me)
(As well as) bars of iron and gates of (brass)
(And) my prison is counted with the abyss,[13]
So that there is no (escape) . . .
. . . . . .
(And rivers of Belial) surround my soul,
So that there is (no deliverance) . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
My heart (is writhing) on (their) spurning (the counsel of the Most High),
. . . . . .
(Thus causing ruin without healing),

[1] Cf. Job iii. 23 and Ps. xlii. 4. [2] See p. 251, n. 6. [3] Cf. Ps. vi. 8.
[4] In Job iii. 5 we read כמרירי יום, "the gloom of the day", the *kaph* apparently being the first radical.
[5] Cf. Ps. cxvi. 3. [6] Cf. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21 and Ezek. vii. 18.
[7] See p. 254, n. 7, and note that ריב is here parallel with בעל מדנים.
[8] Cf. Ps. cii. 10 and Prov. xxvi. 21.
[9] For ויבוא, instead of ויבואו, cf. ויבא משה ואהרן (Num. xvii. 8 ; xx. 6).
[10] Cf. Prov. xxxi. 5. In the light of the connotation given here to משנים, the meaning of ישנא (= ישנה) in Lam. iv. 1, which serves as a parallel to "to dim", "obscure", is of interest.
[11] Viz. God's creatures. Cf. Job, xiv. 15. The whole line is used here parenthetically. [12] See p. 251, n. 6. [13] Cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 5.

And destruction without recovery,
Annihilation without (preservation of life)

* *
*

. . . . . .
(And thou, my God),
Hast revealed to me [1] (in the midst of a circle of) righteous reprovers,[2]
(Amongst) a people (speaking uprightly) . . .
(And thou hast kept me far) from (the worthless) congregation and from (the) violent circle.
And thou hast brought me within the counsel of (the righteous who are cleansed from all transgression and) sin.
And I know that there is a hope [3] for those who repent,[4]
And those who forsake sin (will not stumble) thereby.[5]
(And my soul is longing to) walk in the way of thy heart,[6] committing no injustice.
And I am grieved [7] at the roar of the people and the din of the kingdoms [8] when they gather (together) [9]

* *
*

I (know) that thou settest apart [10] a little [11] recovery [12] amongst thy people
And a remnant in thine inheritance,

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 15.

[2] Is the reference here to some sort of a school of "Reprovers of Righteousness"? Cf. DDH, ix, 43-4.

[3] מקוה, instead of the more common תקוה. Elsewhere in the *Hymns* it seems to be taken in the sense of "dwelling", "abode". See V.T., iv, no. 2 (1954), 214.

[4] For שבי פשע, cf. Is. lix. 20. The notion of repentance and its reward which is expressed in the Bible a number of times (see, e.g. 2 Chron. xxx. 6-10; Ezek. xviii. 30-2; Joel ii. 12-15) as well as in the Gospels (cf. e.g. Matt. iii. 2; Luke xv. 7) is fully elaborated in the Hebrew literature of the post Biblical era. Cf. e.g. Ab. v. 18.

[5] The reference being to the "counsel of (the righteous)", mentioned in line 80.

[6] Cf. Eccles. xi. 9.

[7] Read perhaps ואנהמה and cf. Is. v. 30.

[8] Cf. Is. xvii. 12.

[9] We may have here some echo of the political situation in Palestine in the time of the activities of the Sect.

[10] For this translation, cf. תרימו תרומה (Num. xv. 10) which implies something lifted off, separated, the reference being here to a selected remnant, as the context would suggest. Cf. "I have exalted one chosen out of the people" (Ps. lxxxix. 20).

[11] Lit., "to a small measure".

[12] Cf. Ezra ix. 8, where מחיה is parallel with פלטה.

And thou wilt purify them so as to be cleansed from guilt . . .,
For all their deeds (will be performed) according to thy truth.
And thou shalt judge them with thy kindness,
With a multitude of mercy
And (with) an abundance of forgiveness.
And thy hand (shall be directed) to guide them,[1]
And thy erect arm [2] shall (be stretched out) to establish them
within thy counsel for the sake of thy glory.
And it is for thy sake that thou hast made (me) possess
learning [3]
And (I teach) the people of thy counsel amongst the children
of men
To tell to everlasting generations thy wonders
And relate without cessation [4] thy mighty deeds.[5]
Then will all people know thy truth,
And all nations thy glory.
Thou hast surely [6] conferred (thy strength and splendour)
on all (the people of thy counsel),
(Placing them) together with the company of the angels of
(thy) presence [7]
And there is neither interpreter [8] to (thy assembly

[1] Cf. "He will guide them by the skilfulness of his hands" (Ps. lxxviii. 72). Cf. the parallel in line 92.

[2] The reading is here doubtful. My translation of כישור has some bearing on "distaff", since a distaff is something which stands erect (see BDB, כישור). A similar common Biblical expression is זרוע נטויה, "an outstretched arm". The reading וכישר אמתכה, "and as the uprightness of thy truth", is also possible, although the parallel will be impaired. Moreover, the *ḳaph* of this word will be difficult to explain.

[3] For similar phrases, cf. Eccles. x. 11; Prov. xxiv. 8.

[4] A masc. noun from the V שבת, "cease", "rest", on the *haqṭel* pattern—a noun not found elsewhere, as far as one is aware, in the Hebrew literature. Cf. however, השבתה, "removal" (Pesahim, 5a). השבת may also be taken as an infinitive absolute Hiphil. Cf. further לאין הסר (l. 117).

[5] Cf. Ps. cxlv. 4. [6] See p. 251, n. 6.

[7] Cf. מלאך פניו (Is. lxiii. 9). For the various types of angels according to the Sect's teachings, cf. DSD, Pl. III, 13 ff. In this connection, see the interesting discussion, "The Doctrine of the two spirits" by A. Dupont-Sommer in his J.S.G., pp. 118-30.

[8] For this translation, cf. והמליץ בינותם (Gen. xlii. 23). As to the absence of the *yodh* after the *beth*, cf. איש הבנים (1 Sam. xvii. 4, 23). The same absence of *yodh* is to be observed in אנשי הבנים (DSW, *'O*, Pl. XVIII, 1).

Nor is there) a reporter,[1]
For they are (the assembly of thy counsel)
And they will reply,[2] speaking with the authority[3] of thy glory
And will be thy princes[4] amongst the company (of angels),
Blossoming forth like the (flowers of the field)[5] for ever
(And) rearing a plant which will produce a foliage[6] (in) an everlasting planting-place[7]
And it will give shadow[8] to all (its regions),
Its top reaching (to the heavens).
(And all) its roots the depth.[9]
And all the rivers of delight[10] will (irrigate) its boughs.
And it will turn into (a tree whose height is) unsearchable
(And whose shoots) spread[11] unendingly[12] over the world,
(Reaching) the utmost parts thereof[13] . . .

[1] משיב כרוז seems to be a rendering of משיב דבר (Ezek. ix. 11), where the reference is to " the man clothed with linen "—the angel. Cf. also Dan. x. 5, 9. For the meaning of כרוז, see Mishnah Sanhedrin VI, 1. Cf. also the Aramaic root כרז (Dan. iii. 4). I have, however, given משיב כרוז(מ) a free rendering, having in mind its parallel מליץ בנים.

[2] Elliptical for ישיבו דבר. Similarly, Hab. ii. 1; Job, xiii. 22. The later development of the meaning of the Hiphil of שוב, " to argue against ", " to refute " (cf. Gittin 83a); as well as " to go back with message " (cf. Megillah 15a) deserves mention here.

[3] = על פי כבודך. Cf. the common Biblical phrase על פי ה׳.

[4] Cf. Dan. xii. 1, where the angel Michael is called the " great *prince* ".

[5] The ציץ השדה mentioned in the Bible fades rather quickly (cf. Is. xl. 6 and especially Ps. ciii. 5). The reading כצ(מח השדה) (for which cf. Ezek. xvi. 7) can not be ruled out, although the *yodh* after the *ṣade* seems to be quite distinct in the manuscript.

[6] This Aramaic loan-word appears once in the Bible in the plural (Ps. civ. 12). The *waw* after the *'ayin* is obviously vocalic.

[7] Cf. the Biblical masc. noun מטע. For the fem. noun here and elsewhere in the *Hymns*, cf. e.g. *'O*, Pl. XLII, 6; 10. Cf. also DDH, 1, 7.

[8] For the Hiphil of צלל, cf. Ezek. xxxi. 3.

[9] For תהום parallel with שמים mentioned in the preceding line, cf. Gen. xlix. 25.

[10] Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9.

[11] For this translation, cf. Is. xxxii. 15, where we have a Niphal of ערה followed by על with the meaning of " pour out " and Ps. xxxvii. 35, where we have a Hiphil of the same root with reference to one spreading himself out like a green bay *tree*.

[12] A peculiar expression, the Biblical equivalent of which is אין קץ(ל).

[13] This (free) rendering is suggested by the context. Note that whenever שאול occurs in the Bible it is, unlike here, in connection with something evil.

It will (likewise) turn (into) a fountain of light,
Into an everlasting source, without ever being exhausted.[1]
All the (wicked men) will be consumed [2] in the sparks of his brightness
(Which will develop) into a fire consuming all the men of guilt to (their) utter destruction.[3]

* *
*

And they, the adherents of my testimony,[4]
Were persuaded [5] into (doing acts of peace and righteousness
And into performing) work of uprightness.[6]
And thou, O God,
Hast instructed [7] them (how) to profit from their ways [8]
(By walking) in the way of (holiness and in the path of love)
Over which the uncircumcised, the unclean and violent shall not pass.[9]
But they have broken away from the way of thy heart,[10]
(Desiring) mischief [11]
And longing [12] (for evil),

[1] Infinitive absolute Hophal of סור.

[2] For the causative verb of בער, followed by ב, cf. Nahum ii. 14. בערו here, however, may also be taken as a Qal.

[3] Cf. Job xviii. 5, and especially Is. x. 17. [4] Cf. נצמדי סודי above, line 15.

[5] For פתה in the Pual, which does not necessarily connote a bad sense, cf. Jer. xx. 7. Elsewhere in the *Hymns* (*O*, Pl. XXXVIII, 16), however, the Pual implies the more common connotation it is given in various instances in the Bible. [6] See p. 248, n. 2.

[7] For this translation applied to צוה, cf. Deut. xiii. 6. See following note.

[8] This perplexing line may throw some light on the text and exegesis of Is. xlviii. 17, where the M.T. reads, "I am the Lord, thy God who *instructeth* thee to profit, who leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldest go" (מלמדך להועיל מדריכך בדרך תלך). DSIa reads . . . הדריכה . . ., which if we take it as אדריככה = אדריכך, "I will lead thee", is not far removed from the Masoretic text. DSIb, however, reads מדרכיך . . ., "thy stepping-places", but more likely, "from thy ways", as יעל in the Hiphil, followed by the particle מ, "from", is not a solitary case in the Bible (cf. Job xxxv. 2). It would then appear that the version the hymnologist had in mind agreed with DSIb against the M.T. as well as against DSIa. [9] Cf. Is. xxxv. 8-9.

[10] בדרך לבכה is a favourite in the *Hymns*. See, e.g. above, line 83.

[11] For another possible pointing here, cf. Ezek. vii. 27.

[12] = יכמו (not יכמהו), from the V כמה, the *he* not being aspirated as the Masoretes would have us do (cf. Ps. lxiii. 2). For similar spellings in the M.T., cf. ההלכוא (Joshua, x. 24); אבוא (Is. xxviii. 12).

For a wicked counsellor [1] is in their heart.
And they (scheme) wicked designs
Yea, they roll in guilt.

* *
*

I (am) as a sailor in a ship (tossed) in the fury of seas,
Whose (all) waves and all billows roar against me [2] (with) uncontrollable vehemence.[3]
(There is neither) tranquility to restore the soul
Nor is there a pathway [4] to make a smooth voyage upon the face of the water.[5]
And the deep echoes [6] with my sighing,
And (I reached) the gates of death.[7]
And I was made as one entering a besieged city [8]
Who takes refuge [9] in a strong fortress,[10]
Until the time of deliverance.
And I (lean upon) thy truth,[11] O my God,
For thou wilt establish a foundation [12] on (the) rock [13]

[1] Cf. Nahum i. 11 and Deut. xv. 9.

[2] Cf. "thou hast cast me in the midst of the seas . . . all thy billows and thy waves past over me" (Jonah ii. 3).

[3] Cf. Is. xix. 14, in which the reference is to a perverse, warping spirit in judgement. Here, however, as the context suggests, it has a slightly different meaning. Note the form עועים, against the Masoretic עועים. This seems to be the more correct one. The sing. quadriliteral form of עוה (following the analogy of קוקו, Is. xviii. 2 from קוה) being obviously עועו. See further line 191 and DSIa (Pl. XV, 18), where in both cases we have עועים. Both DSIa and *'O*, however, transcribe עועיים.

[4] = נתיבה. For a similar form, cf. Ps. xvi. 6; lx. 13. [5] Cf. Is. xliii. 16.

[6] Lit., "roars". For תהום as masc., cf. Job, xxviii. 14. [7] Cf. Ps. cvii. 18.

[8] Or "a fortified city". Cf. ערי מצורה (2 Chron. xi. 11). We will thus have a parallel with חומה ושגבה.

[9] Niphal of עוז, found neither in the Bible nor, as far as one is aware, in the post-Biblical literature. [10] Cf. Is. xxx. 2, 13.

[11] Or, if the reading is אמתכה, "thy forearm", namely, "thy strength".

[12] My translation of סוד is suggested by the context. With this meaning סוד is found numerous times in the Scrolls. (Cf. e.g. *'O*, Pls. XXXVII, 21; XLI, 9.) For סוד being kindred with יסוד, cf. ורוזנים נוסדו יחד, "and the rulers take counsel" (Ps. ii. 2). It is worthy of note that in Hagigah 14a, יסודם of Job xxii. 16, is taken as סודם. In the paytanic literature, where *pe yodh* verbs are frequently treated as *'ayin waws*, we have סד instead of יסד (see *Yoẓer* for the first day of Shabhu'oth, beginning with בחוקו).

[13] "And . . . the winds blew and beat upon the house, and it fell not, for *it was founded upon a rock*" (Matt. vii. 25), may be of some interest here.

And a building stone [1] on (the) abode [2] of judgement,
And a plummet . . .
To serve as tried stones,[3]
As a strong edifice,[4]
So that it may not shake,[5]
And all those who enter therein shall not be dislodged [6]
And no stranger will (ever) penetrate (it).
Its (gates) are garrison-gates,
Allowing no entrance,
And (its bars) are strong bars,
Unbreakable ones.
No troop will (ever) make inroad with its weapons of war
Until [7] all the (swords) of the war of wickedness will be consumed.
And then, in the time [8] of judgement, will the sword of God [9] hasten,

[1] In the Bible כפיס means "rafter" (cf. Hab. ii. 11), but here, as the context would suggest, it has the sense applied to it in the Talmudic literature (cf. e.g. כפיסי, Mishnah, Baba Bathra, i. 1 and its rendering in the Gemara 3a).

[2] Is. xxviii. 17 reads ושמתי משפט לקו וצדקה למשקלת, which is usually rendered "I will lay judgement to the line and righteousness to the plummet". Here, however, קו seems to connote an abode of some sort. (בקו משפטו, which occurs in DSD, Pl. X, 9, may perhaps have the same meaning. The line in which it is embodied will thus echo Ps. c. 4.) Cf. "the porch of judgement" (1 Kings vii. 7). Qimhi (*Sepher ha-Shorashim*, etc. V קוה) renders קו לקו (Is. xxviii. 10) בנין אחר בנין. See p. 257, n. 3.

[3] Cf. אבן בחן (Is. xxviii. 16), the reference being to a stone tested and approved for the use of a foundation-stone. As to the pronunciation of בחן, comparing Is. xxxii. 14 (where there is no mention of אבן), we may perhaps read *baḥan* (not *boḥan* as is the Masoretic pointing in Is. xxviii. 16), since *plena* is the general rule in the Scrolls.

[4] For the form, cf. Ezek. xli. 13, and for the preference given in the Scrolls for nouns ending in יה, see further, p. 264, n. 1.

[5] (= תזדעזע), Hithpalpel of זוע, common in the Talmudic literature. Similar expressions are to be found further in the *Hymns* (*'O*, Pl. XLI, 9) and in DSD (Pl. XI, 4).

[6] Niphal rather than Qal since it is preceded by בל.

[7] For a similar use of עם implying time, cf. Ps. lxii. 5.

[8] For this rendering of קץ, see V.T., vol. iv, 2, pp. 211-13.

[9] In contrast with "the swords of the war of wickedness".

And all his faithful children [1] will awaken to (destroy . . .)
wickedness
So that children of guilt will be no more.
And the mighty will bend his bow [2]
And breach open the siege . . . very widely
As well as (open) the everlasting gates
In order to bring forth (therefrom) weapons of war [3]
With which to ward off [4] (the besiegers) from end to (end).
And there will be no escape for the guilty ; [5]
They will be utterly [6] trampled upon
(Their being left with) neither remnant
(Nor) hope
In spite [7] of (their) great (army).
But there will be no flight of the mighty of the wars,[8]
For to the most high God is the (salvation and the glory) . . .
Then will the dust-dwellers [9] lift up a beacon
And the worm-eaten bodies [10] will raise an ensign,[11]
(Announcing that the wicked were) destroyed in the battles
of the insolent.
And he who makes to pass the overflowing scourge [12] will
not pierce [13] the fortress . . .
. . . to plaster [14] and as a building-stone [15] . . .

* *
*

[1] A more likely rendering than "the children of his maid servant" (for which cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 16 ; cxvi. 16), as "children of truth", or "men of truth", seems to be a fixed term in the Scrolls, the opposite being בני אשמה (l. 159).

[2] Cf. Jer. xlvi. 9.

[3] Cf. "The Lord hath opened his armoury and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation" (Jer. l. 25).

[4] For this translation, cf. עוצרת רוחות רעות (Sukkah 38a).

[5] Lit. ("to the) creature of guilt". See p. 256, n. 6.

[6] Used often in the *Hymns*. Cf. e.g. lines 74 and 119 above.

[7] For a similar force given here to the *beth*, cf. Ps. xlvi, 3.

[8] Viz. the mighty who were besieged. Cf. above, "and the mighty will bend his bow", line 160.

[9] Cf. ישבי עפר (*Hymns*, *'O*, Pl. XXXVII, 13). Cf. also כורעי עפר (DSW, *'O*, Pl. XXVI, 13).

[10] Lit. "the worm of men". Note the ellipsis of תולעת יעקב מתי ישראל (Is. xli. 14).

[11] Cf. Is. xxx. 17.

[12] Cf. Is. xxviii. 15.

[13] For this translation of יבוא, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 21.

[14] Cf. DDH, p. 99, 19 and Ezek. xiii. 10.

[15] See p. 262, n. 1.

. . . I am dumb (like a lamb
And cut off from the land of) God . . .
((My) shoulder falls from the shoulder-blade
And (my) arm) breaks from the bone [1]
And my foot [2] is sunk in the mire.[3]
Turn my eyes' gaze away [4] from seeing evil,
My ears from hearing of blood.[5]
Make my heart feel appalled [6] at evil thoughts,
For a wicked people [7] has come forth,
(A people) whose impulse [8] is (bent on) destruction.[9]
And all the foundations [10] of my frame [11] are broken,[12]
And my bones are out of joint,[13]

[1] The form קניה (found once more in the *Hymns*, *'O*, Pl. XLII, 33), instead of קנה (as found in Job xxxi. 22, from which the whole phrase in which this word is embodied is drawn) is interesting, for nouns with יה endings seem to be a favourite with the Scrolls. Cf. e.g. DSW (*'O*, Pl. XIX, 2) where we have מאיותיו, instead of מאותיו (the same spelling of this word with the additional vocalic *yodh* after the *mem* occurs also in DDH, xv. 6); *Hymns* (*'O*, Pl. XXXVII, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18), where הריה comes instead of the more common הרה. See line 147 above.

[2] The sing. רגלי "my foot" is of some textual significance here, for in Jer. xxxviii. 22, from which the expression in which this word is found is drawn, we have רגלך, without a *yodh*, although pointed as a plural.

[3] See p. 250, n. 10.

[4] = שעה (cf. ראה = ראו, Is. vi. 9), infinitive Qal of שעה used here as an optative. For the meaning of שעה in the sense given here, cf. Is. xxii. 4 and Job vii. 19. The author, however, seems to confuse שעע with שעה, for he no doubt has in mind Is. vi. 10.

[5] Cf. "He stops his ears from hearing of blood and shuts his eyes from seeing evil" (Is. xxxiii. 15).

[6] Cf. ישתומם לבי (Ps. cxliii. 4).

[7] = עם בליעל. For a similar example, where the adjectival attribute seems to stand before its substantive, cf. Jer. iii. 6. We may, however, have here a construct state, for which cf. Ps. xxii. 7.

[8] יצר with this sense is found frequently in post-Biblical literature. Cf. however, also Gen. vi. 5.

[9] For a similar reversed order of words, cf. perhaps ברית שלומי (Is. liv. 10) and contrast בריתי שלום (Num. xxv. 12). See line 185 above.

[10] A favourite word in the *Hymns*. See note on it in my *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls*, pp. 21-2.

[11] A fem. noun from בנה, "to build" (cf. מענית from ענה), not found in the Bible. It, however, appears numerous times in the *Hymns* as well as once in DSD. See Y. Yadin, JBL (March 1955), pp. 40-3.

[12] Qal of רעע (cf. רצץ), "to break".

[13] Cf. Ps. xxii. 15.

And my innerparts [1] go up (and down) as does a ship in rage
and violence (of wind),[2]
And my heart is utterly [3] discomposed,
And a perverse spirit [4] swallows me up because of the
destruction brought about by their transgression.

[1] See p. 253, n. 14.

[2] This *hapax legomenon* (Jonah iv. 8) is wholly dubious (see BDB, חריש). Here, however, the context tends to make its connotation somewhat clearer. It is worthy of note that in the piyyuṭ of the *Musaph* prayer for the First Day of the New Year we have שצף חרישית, a similar expression with an apparent similar meaning. (According to some medieval Hebrew commentators שצף = קצף).

[3] Cf. line 37 above. For לכלה as adverb, cf. 2 Chron. xii. 12.

[4] See p. 261, n. 3.

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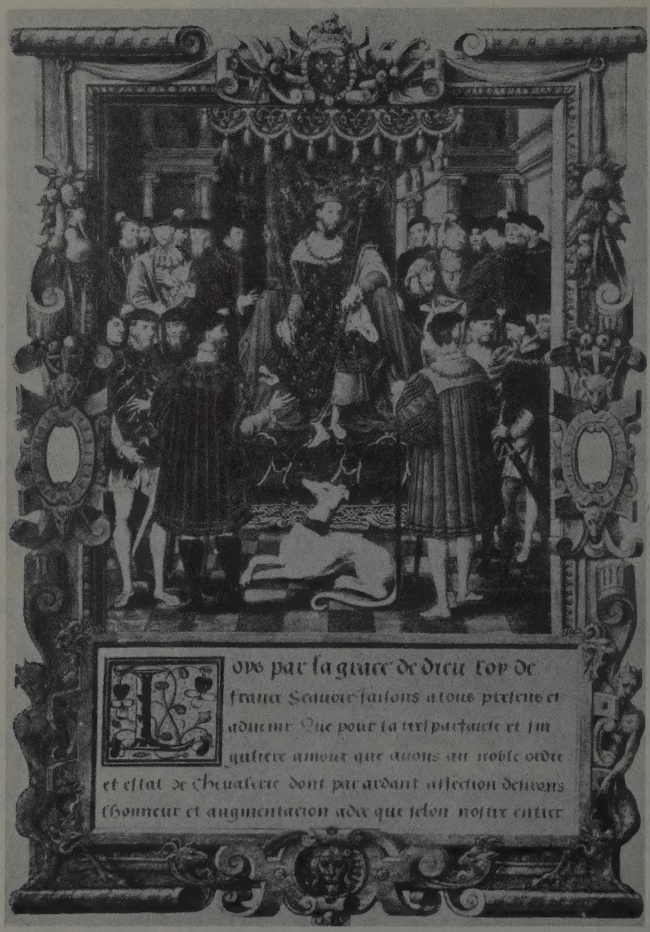
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France Sçauoir faisons a tous presens et
aduenir Que pour la tres parfaicte et im
guliere amour que auons au noble ordre
et estat de Cheualerie dont par ardant affection desirons
lhonneur et augmentacion adce que selon nostre estime

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